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A HARMONY
OF THE
LIFE OF ST. PAUL

ACCORDING TO

The Acts of the Apostles and the Pauline Epistles.

BY

REV. FRANK J. GOODWIN.

11106

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INTRODUCTION.

THIS book is designed as a handbook for students, to be used in connection with such short outline studies as Stalker's "Life of St. Paul." It is called a Harmony, as I have endeavored to blend the history of Paul's life as given in The Acts of the Apostles with selections from the Pauline Epistles. In constructing a harmony of the life of Christ the problem is merely one of the arrangement of the material, all of which is given in the four Gospel histories. In arranging a harmony of Paul's life omission is absolutely necessary. Luke's history of the apostle's life is taken as a basis and is printed entire, and to it are added such passages from Paul's letters, written at different times and with various purposes, as are parallel or supplementary to the Acts. The Harmony covers primarily the *Life* of St. Paul, and therefore the dogmatic and ethical portions of his writings are generally omitted, that, in so short a handbook, the story of his life may not be lost in his theology. Doubtless many would add passages which I have left out, but I safely may say that I have inserted in the text almost all of the historical and autobiographical allusions in the Epistles which conservative critics generally concede are necessary to fill out the incomplete record in the Acts.

The text used is the Authorized Version, but the most radical changes in the Revised Version are indicated in the notes and indexes. The notes consider chiefly the arrangement of the passages in the text. Special attention has been given to Paul's companions and the chronology of the apostle's life. The other comments relate to Paul's speeches, the occasion of the writing of the Epistles, his trials and imprisonments, and such other matters as give an insight into his personal life and character.

I acknowledge with pleasure valuable criticisms on the text received from Prof. Marvin R. Vincent, D. D., Prof. B. Rush Rhees and Rev. Edward Judson, D. D. I am conscious that in deciding upon the many critical questions arising in the preparation of such a volume at times I may have fallen into error, but I hope that the publication of the life of St. Paul in the language of the sacred writers themselves may serve to give a clearer understanding of that great disciple whose name Monod regards "as the type of at once the most extended and the most useful activity of which the history of men has furnished remembrance."

F. J. G.

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OUTLINE LIFE OF PAUL.*

I. Paul's Early Life to His First Missionary Journey.

Conversion, 36 A. D.

In Damascus and Arabia, 37-39 A. D.

Escape from Damascus. First Visit to Jerusalem, 39 A. D.

In Tarsus and the Regions of Syria and Cilicia, 39-43 A. D., 4 or 5 years.

A year in Antioch with Barnabas, 44 A. D.

Second Journey to Jerusalem with Alms, 45 A. D.

II. First Missionary Journey, 45-47 A. D., 2 years.

In Antioch "a long time," 48-49 A. D., 2 years.

III. Third Visit to Jerusalem. The Council, 50 A. D.

IV. Second Missionary Journey, 51-54 A. D., 3 years.

1 Thessalonians written at Corinth, 52 A. D.

2 Thessalonians written at Corinth, 53 A. D.

Fourth Visit to Jerusalem.

V. Third Missionary Journey, 54-58 A. D., 4 years.

1 Corinthians written at Ephesus, Spring of 57 A. D.

2 Corinthians written in Macedonia, Autumn of 57 A. D.

Galatians written at Corinth, Winter of 57 A. D.

Romans written at Corinth, Spring of 58 A. D.

* In the chronology of the Harmony I have followed Hackett in his commentary on the Acts (Hovey Ed.). He gives five leading events (Intro., pp. 20-23), the dates of which are fixed with reasonable certainty. I. The conversion of Paul, A. D. 36. This is calculated from Josephus and the allusion in 2 Cor. 11:32 to Aretas, who was king of Arabia and in possession of Damascus when Paul escaped from that city three years after his conversion. II. The death of Herod Agrippa I. (Acts 12:23), which Josephus fixes at A. D. 44. This determines "the return of Paul to Antioch from his second

- VI. Fifth Visit to Jerusalem. Paul seized in the Temple, 58 A. D.
- VII. Imprisonment at Cæsarea, 58-60 A. D., 2 years.
- VIII. Journey to Rome, 60 (Autumn)-61 (Spring) A. D.
- IX. First Roman Captivity, 61-63 A. D., 2 years.
- Philemon written 61 or 62 A. D.
- Colossians written 61 or 62 A. D.
- Ephesians written 61 or 62 A. D.
- Philippians written 63 A. D.
- X. Between the First and Second Roman Captivities, 63-67 A. D., 4 or 5 years.
- 1 Timothy written in Macedonia, 67 A. D.
- Titus written at Ephesus, 67 A. D.
- XI. The Second Roman Captivity, 68 A. D.
- 2 Timothy written at Rome, 68 A. D.
- Paul's Death, 68 A. D.

visit to Jerusalem and his departure on his first missionary excursion." III. The third journey of Paul to Jerusalem, A. D. 50. Gal. 2:1 says he went up to Jerusalem after fourteen years. This reckoned from his conversion, A. D. 36, gives A. D. 50, the year of the first Church Council. "Paul departed on his second missionary tour soon after his return to Antioch from this third visit to Jerusalem, and hence we are enabled to assign that second tour to the year A. D. 51." IV. The Procuratorship of Felix. Felix was superseded by Festus, according to Josephus, Tacitus and Suetonius, in A. D. 60 or 61. Upon this date depends the year of the apostle's arrest in Jerusalem "on his fifth and last visit thither before he was sent to Rome. His captivity at Cæsarea which followed that arrest continued two years, and must have commenced in the spring of A. D. 58 or 59." V. The arrival of Paul in Rome, A. D. 61 or 62. "It is evident from the Acts that Paul proceeded to Rome almost immediately after the entrance of Festus on his office; and if this took place in A. D. 60 or 61 he must have arrived in Rome early in the spring of 61 or 62."

See also Conybeare and Howson: "The Life, Times and Travels of St. Paul" (Appendix II., notes A, B and C); Schaff: "History of the Christian Church" (Vol. I., pp. 322-333); Farrar: "The Life and Work of St. Paul" (Vol. II., Excursus X.); Clark: "Harmonic Arrangement of the Acts of the Apostles" (pp. 139-145).

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PART I.

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Paul's first visit to Jerusalem to see Peter. He is warned in a vision to depart. 39 A. D., 15 days.

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HARMONY OF THE LIFE OF ST. PAUL.

PART I.

Paul's Early Life to his First Missionary Journey.

ACTS 7:58 TO 12:25.

I. EARLY TRAINING.⁽¹⁾

I. ANCESTRY AND YOUTH.

ACTS 21:39; 22:3; 23:34.	2 COR. 11:22.	ROM. 11:1.	PHIL. 3:4, 5.
21:39. But Paul said, I am a man <i>which am</i> a Jew of Tarsus, a <i>city</i> in Cilicia, a citizen of no mean city.	11:22. Are they Hebrews? so <i>am</i> I. Are they Israelites? so <i>am</i> I. Are they the seed of Abraham? so <i>am</i> I.	11:1. I say then, Hath God cast away his people? God forbid. For I also am an Israelite, of the seed of Abraham, <i>of</i> the tribe of Benjamin.	3:4. Though I might also have confidence in the flesh. If any other man thinketh that he hath whereof he might trust in the flesh, I more: 5. Circumcised the eighth day, of the stock of Israel, <i>of</i> the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew of the Hebrews. ⁽²⁾
22:3. I am verily a man <i>which am</i> a Jew, born in Tarsus, a <i>city</i> in Cilicia.			
23:34. When the governor had read <i>the letter</i> , he asked of what province he was. And when he understood that <i>he</i> was of Cilicia;			

(1) For a brief, luminous picture of Paul's early life and training, see Stalker's "Life of St. Paul," chap. 2. Compare also Conybeare and Howson, "The Life, Times and Travels of St. Paul," Vol. I., chap. 2, and Farrar, "The Life and Work of St. Paul," Vol. I., chaps. 2-4.

(2) "Within the pale of the Jewish Church a man was a *Jew* who traced his descent from Jacob and conformed to the religion of his fathers; but he was not a *Hebrew* also unless he spoke the Hebrew tongue and retained Hebrew customs. See Trench's "New Testament Synonyms," §39, p. 129. Hence here, as in 2 Cor. 11:22, 'Hebrew' implies something which is not expressed in 'Israelite.' Though St. Paul was born in Tarsus, he was yet brought up under a great Hebrew teacher in the Hebrew metropolis, Acts 22:3; he spoke the 'Hebrew' lan-

guage fluently, Acts 21:40; 22:2; he quotes frequently from the Hebrew Scriptures which he translates for himself, thus contrasting with his contemporaries, the Jewish Philo and the Christian writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, who commonly use the Hellenistic version of the Seventy." Lightfoot.

2. EDUCATION.

ACTS 22:3; 23:6; 26:4, 5.

22:3. [I am verily a man *which am* a Jew, born in Tarsus, a city in Cilicia,] yet brought up in this city at the feet of Gamaliel, and taught according to the perfect manner of the law of the fathers, and was zealous toward God, as ye all are this day.

23:6. [But when Paul perceived that the one part were Sadducees, and the other Pharisees, he cried out in the council, Men and brethren,] I am a Pharisee, the son of a Pharisee:

26:4. My manner of life from my youth, which was at the first among mine own nation at Jerusalem, know all the Jews; 5. Which knew me from the beginning, if they would testify, that after the most straitest sect of our religion I lived a Pharisee.(3)

GAL. 1:13, 14.

1:13, 14. [13. For ye have heard of my conversation in time past in the Jews' religion, how that beyond measure I persecuted the church of God, and wasted it:] 14. And profited in the Jews' religion above many my equals in mine own nation, being more exceedingly zealous of the traditions of my fathers.

PHIL. 3:5.

3:5. [Circumcised the eighth day, of the stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew of the Hebrews;] as touching the law a Pharisee;

(3) A severe training as a strict Pharisee does not seem the most promising preparation for the future Apostle to the Gentiles. But Paul's weakness was his strength. "We may safely say that if Saul had been less of a Jew Paul the apostle would have been less bold and independent. His work would have been more superficial and his mind less unfettered. God did not choose a heathen to be the apostle of the heathen; for he might have been ensnared by the traditions of Judaism, by its priestly hierarchy and the splendors of its worship, as indeed it happened with the Church of the second century. On the contrary, God chose a Pharisee. But this Pharisee had the most complete experience of the emptiness of external ceremonies and the crushing yoke of the law. There was no fear that he would ever look back, that he would be tempted to set up again what the grace of God had justly overthrown, Gal. 2:18. Judaism was wholly vanquished in his soul, for it was wholly displaced." Sabatier, "The Apostle Paul," pp. 69, 70. Compare Monod's "St. Paul: Five Discourses," pp. 105-111, and Schaff's "History of the Christian Church," Vol. I., pp. 286-292.

In Rom. 16: 13 Paul writes, "Salute Rufus, chosen in the Lord, and his mother and mine." Godet thinks that Paul met these two disciples while a student in Jerusalem.

3. CHARACTER.

PHIL. 3:6.

3:6. [Concerning zeal, persecuting the church;] touching the righteousness which is in the law, blameless.⁽⁴⁾

1 TIM. 1:12, 13.

1:12. And I thank Christ Jesus our Lord, who hath enabled me, for that he counted me faithful, putting me into the ministry;] 13. Who was before a blasphemer, and a persecutor, and injurious: but I obtained mercy, because I did *it* ignorantly in unbelief.

2 TIM. 1:3.

1:3. I thank God, whom I serve from *my* forefathers with pure conscience,

(4) "That 'law,' as here used, means not *law*, but *the* (Mosaic) *law*, is indicated (a) by the fact that the persons with whom the apostle is contrasting himself are Judaizers; (b) by the allusions to circumcision, concision, confidence in the flesh, etc.; (c) by the fact that in all the words connected with 'law' of verse 5 there is an immediate and direct reference to the Jewish race and ideas; (d) by the correspondence of the phrase 'righteousness in the law' with similar phrases in Galatians and Romans, where the Mosaic law is referred to (*e.g.*, Gal. 3: 11, 12); (e) by the fact that what Paul had so fully devoted himself to as to become blameless in it, and what he had abandoned for the righteousness of faith, was the righteousness of the Mosaic system. 'Blameless' is determined in its meaning by the character of the sentence in which it stands. In all the phrases the apostle is evidently speaking of himself from the Jewish standpoint. He was blameless as viewed from the same standpoint, *i. e.*, in the more external sense, and according to the ordinary manner of human judging." Dwight in Meyer, Phil., Amer. edit., p. 153.

II. SAUL THE PERSECUTOR.

I. STEPHEN'S DEATH.⁽⁵⁾

ACTS 7:57, 58; 8:1, 2.

7:57. Then they... ran upon him with one accord, 58. And cast *him* out of the city, and stoned *him*; and the witnesses laid down their clothes at a young man's feet, whose name was Saul.

8:1. And Saul was consenting unto his death. And at that time there was a great persecution against the church which was at Jerusalem; and they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria, except the apostles. 2. And devout men carried Stephen *to his burial*, and made great lamentation over him.

ACTS 22:20.

22:20. And when the blood of thy martyr Stephen was shed, I also was standing by, and consenting unto his death, and kept the raiment of them that slew him.

(5) On "The Work and Martyrdom of St. Stephen" see Farrar, Vol. I., chap. 8.

2. GENERAL PERSECUTIONS.⁽⁶⁾

ACTS 8:3, 4.

8:3. As for Saul, he made havoc of the church, entering into every house, and haling men and women committed *them* to prison.
4. Therefore they that were scattered abroad went every where preaching the word.

ACTS 22:4, 5, 19.

22:4. And I persecuted this way unto the death, binding and delivering into prisons both men and women. 5. As also the high priest doth bear me witness, and all the estate of the elders: from whom also I received letters unto the brethren, and went to Damascus, to bring them which were there bound unto Jerusalem, for to be punished.

22:19. And I said, Lord, they know that I imprisoned and beat in every synagogue them that believed on thee:

ACTS 26:9-11.

26:9. I verily thought with myself, that I ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth. 10. Which thing I also did in Jerusalem: and many of the saints did I shut up in prison, having received authority from the chief priests; and when they were put to death, I gave my voice against *them*.⁽⁷⁾ 11. And I punished them oft in every synagogue, and compelled them to blaspheme; and being exceedingly mad against them, I persecuted *them* even unto strange cities.

(6) "The part which he played at this time in the horrid work of persecution," says Farrar, "has, I fear, been always underrated. It is only when we collect the separate passages—they are no less than eight in number—in which allusion is made to this sad period, it is only when we weigh the terrible significance of the expressions used, that we feel the load of remorse which must have lain upon him, and the taunts to which he was liable from malignant enemies. 'He made havoc of'—literally, 'he was ravaging'—the church. No stronger metaphor could well have been used. It occurs nowhere else in the New Testament, but in the Septuagint and in classical Greek is applied to the wild boars which uproot a vineyard."

(7) The R. V. translates Acts 26:10, "I gave my vote against them." The meaning is: he "encouraged, approved, the act. (Bengel, Kuinoel, De Wette, Meyer.) (Comp. *consenting*, in Acts 22:20.) Some insist on the literal sense of the phrase, and infer from it that Paul was a member of the Sanhedrin and voted with the other judges to put the Christians to death. But the Jews required, as a general rule, that those who held this office should be men of years; and Paul at the time of Stephen's martyrdom could hardly have attained the proper age. It is said, too, on the authority of the later Jewish writers, that one of the necessary qualifications for being chosen into the Sanhedrin was that a man should be the father of a family, because he who is a parent may be expected to be merciful—a relation which, from the absence of any allusion to it in the apostle's writings, we have every reason to believe that he never sustained. The expression itself affords but slight proof that Paul was a voter in the Sanhedrin." Hackett, Comm. on Acts. For the contrary view see Farrar, Vol. I., pp. 169, 170 and 78-82.

3. PAUL'S CONFESSION IN THE EPISTLES.

1 COR. 15:9.

15:9. For I am the least of the apostles, that am not meet to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the church of God.

GAL. 1:13, 22-24.

1:13. For ye have heard of my conversation in time past in the Jews' religion, how that beyond measure I persecuted the church of God, and wasted it; . . . 22. And was unknown by face unto the churches of Judea which were in Christ; 23. But they had heard only, That he which persecuted us in times past now preacheth the faith which once he destroyed. 24. And they glorified God in me.

PHIL. 3:6.

3:6. Concerning zeal, persecuting the church; [touching the righteousness which is in the law, blameless].

1 TIM. 1:13.

1:13. Who was before a blasphemer, and a persecutor, and injurious: but I obtained mercy, because I did *it* ignorantly in unbelief.

III. PAUL'S CONVERSION, 36 A. D.

I. ON THE ROAD TO DAMASCUS.⁽⁸⁾

ACTS 9:1-9.

9:1. And Saul, yet breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord, went unto the high priest, 2. And desired of him letters to Damascus to the synagogues, that if he found any of this way, whether they were men or women, he might bring them bound unto Jerusalem. 3. And as he journeyed, he came near Damascus: and suddenly there shined round about him a light from heaven: 4. And he fell to the earth, and heard a voice saying unto him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? 5. And he said, Who art thou, Lord? And the Lord said, I am Jesus whom thou persecutest: *it is* hard for

ACTS 22:5-11.

22:5. As also the high priest doth bear me witness, and all the estate of the elders: from whom also I received letters unto the brethren, and went to Damascus, to bring them which were there bound unto Jerusalem, for to be punished. 6. And it came to pass, that, as I made my journey, and was come nigh unto Damascus about noon, suddenly there shone from heaven a great light round about me, 7. And I fell unto the ground, and heard a voice saying unto me, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? 8. And I answered, Who art thou, Lord? And he said unto me, I am Jesus of Nazareth, whom thou persecutest.

ACTS 26:12-20.

26:12. Whereupon as I went to Damascus with authority and commission from the chief priests, 13. At mid-day, O King, I saw in the way a light from heaven, above the brightness of the sun, shining round about me and them which journeyed with me. 14. And when we were all fallen to the earth, I heard a voice speaking unto me, and saying in the Hebrew tongue, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? *it is* hard for thee to kick against the pricks. 15. And I said, Who art thou, Lord? And he said, I am Jesus whom thou persecutest. 16. But rise, and stand upon thy feet: for I have appeared unto thee for this purpose,

ACTS 9.

thee to kick against the pricks. 6. And he trembling and astonished said, Lord, what wilt thou have me to do? And the Lord *said* unto him, Arise, and go into the city, and it shall be told thee what thou must do. 7. And the men which journeyed with him stood speechless, hearing a voice, but seeing no man. 8. And Saul arose from the earth; and when his eyes were opened, he saw no man: but they led him by the hand, and brought him into Damascus. 9. And he was three days without sight, and neither did eat nor drink.

his case

ACTS 22.

9. And they that were with me saw indeed the light, and were afraid; but they heard not the voice of him that spake to me. 10. And I said, What shall I do, Lord? And the Lord said unto me, Arise, and go into Damascus; and there it shall be told thee of all things which are appointed for thee to do. 11. And when I could not see for the glory of that light, being led by the hand of them that were with me, I came into Damascus.

avoided any mention of mission to the Gentiles

ACTS 26.

to make thee a minister and a witness both of these things which thou hast seen, and of those things in the which I will appear unto thee; 17. Delivering thee from the people, and *from the Gentiles*, unto whom now I send thee; 18. To open their eyes, and to turn *them* from darkness to light, and *from* the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith that is in me. 19. Whereupon, O king Agrippa, I was not disobedient unto the heavenly vision: 20. [But showed first unto them of Damascus, and at Jerusalem, and throughout all the coasts of Judea, and *then* to the Gentiles, that they should repent and turn to God, and do works meet for repentance.]

(8) I have discussed the question of the supernatural character of Paul's conversion, and the variations in the accounts of his experience as given in the three parallel passages in Acts, in Appendix I., "The Conversion of Paul."

2. PAUL AND ANANIAS.

ACTS 9:10-19.

9:10. And there was a certain disciple at Damascus, named Ananias; and to him said the Lord in a vision, Ananias. And he said, Behold, I *am here*, Lord. 11. And the Lord *said* unto him, Arise, and go into the street which is called Straight, and enquire in the house of Judas for *one* called Saul, of Tarsus: for, behold, he prayeth, 12. And hath seen in a vision a man named Ananias coming in, and putting *his* hand on him, that he might receive his sight. 13. Then Ananias answered, Lord, I have heard by many of this man, how much evil he hath done to thy saints at Jerusalem: 14. And here he hath authority from the chief priests to bind all that call on thy name. 15. But the Lord said

ACTS 22:12-16.

22:12. And one Ananias, a devout man according to the law, *having* a good report of all the Jews which dwelt *there*,

ACTS 9.

unto him, Go thy way: for he is a chosen vessel unto me, to bear my name before the Gentiles, and kings, and the children of Israel: 16. For I will show him how great things he must suffer for my name's sake. 17. And Ananias went his way, and entered into the house; and putting his hands on him said, Brother Saul, the Lord, *even* Jesus, that appeared unto thee in the way as thou camest, hath sent me, that thou mightest receive thy sight, and be filled with the Holy Ghost. 18. And immediately there fell from his eyes as it had been scales: and he received sight forthwith, and arose, and was baptized. 19. And when he had received meat, he was strengthened. [Then was Saul certain days with the disciples which were at Damascus.]

ACTS 22.

13. Came unto me, and stood, and said unto me, Brother Saul, receive thy sight. And the same hour I looked up upon him. 14. And he said, The God of our fathers hath chosen thee, that thou shouldest know his will, and see that Just One, and shouldest hear the voice of his mouth. 15. For thou shalt be his witness unto all men of what thou hast seen and heard. 16. And now why tarriest thou? arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling on the name of the Lord.

3. PAUL'S CONVERSION ACCORDING TO THE EPISTLES.

(a) I COR. I:1; 9:1; 15:7-10.

I:1. Paul, called *to be* an apostle of Jesus Christ through the will of God.

9:1. Am I not an apostle? am I not free? have I not seen Jesus Christ our Lord? are not ye my work in the Lord?

15:7. After that, he was seen of James; then of all the apostles. 8. And last of all he was seen of me also, as of one born out of due time.⁽⁹⁾ 9. For I am the least of the apostles, that am not meet to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the church of God. 10. But by the grace of God I am what I am: and his grace which *was bestowed* upon me was not in vain; but I labored more abundantly than they all: yet not I, but the grace of God which was with me.

(9) "Paul is popularly supposed to be uttering a complaint that he had not been privileged to behold the earliest dawn—that his had not been the joy of looking upon the earthly face of the Master; he had been born too late for that. . . . The truth is, so far is Paul from looking upon himself as behind the age, that he is impressed beyond all things with that sense of solitude which comes from being advanced beyond one's day. . . . He has seen the Christ, not as a local personality, not as an historical man environed by a particular age and circumscribed by a special soil, but as a life risen above all principalities and powers and transcending all temporal conditions. And the effect of that vision has been to widen his own view of the missionary field; it has been to him equivalent to a Gentile call. . . . He had been called to a solitary privilege—the privilege of recognizing the fact that the Gentile was equal to the Jew; and he expressed at once the dignity and the loneliness of the position by declaring that Christ had been revealed to him as to 'one born out of due time.'" Matheson, "Spiritual Development of St. Paul," pp. 69-71.

(b) GAL. I:1, 11, 12, 15, 16.

I:1. Paul, an apostle, (not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father, who raised him from the dead;). . . 11. But I certify you, brethren, that the gospel which was preached of me is not after man. 12. For I neither received it of man, neither was I taught *it*, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ.⁽¹⁰⁾ . . . 15. But when it pleased God, who separated me from my mother's womb, and called *me* by his grace, 16. To reveal his Son in me, that I might preach him among the heathen;

(10) "By the revelation of Jesus Christ" (v. 12). "Paul alludes to the revelation received soon after the event at Damascus, and consequent therefore upon his calling, which enabled him to comply with it and to come forward as a preacher of the gospel. Comp. Gal. 1:15, 16; Eph. 3:3. . . . How the 'revelation' took place must be left undecided. It may have taken place with or without vision, in different stages, partly even before his baptism in the three days mentioned, Acts 9:6, 9, partly at and immediately after it, but not through instruction on the part of Ananias. The 'in me' in ver. 16 is consistent with either supposition." Meyer.

"Three separate stages in the history of the apostle's consecration to his ministry seem to be mentioned here [vv. 15, 16]. *First*, the predestination to his high office, which dated from before his birth ('who separated me from my mother's womb'); *Secondly*, the conversion and call to the apostleship, which took place on the way to Damascus, Acts 9:3 sqq. ('called me by his grace'); and *Thirdly*, the entering upon his ministry in fulfilment of this call, Acts 9:20 sqq.; 13:2, 3 ('To reveal his Son in me, that I might preach him among the heathen')." Lightfoot.

(c) ROM. I:1-5; 7:7-25; 8:1.

I:1. Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, called *to be* an apostle, separated unto the gospel of God, 2. (Which he had promised afore by his prophets in the holy Scriptures,) 3. Concerning his Son Jesus Christ our Lord, which was made of the seed of David according to the flesh; 4. And declared *to be* the Son of God with power, according to the Spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead: 5. By whom we have received grace and apostleship, for obedience to the faith among all nations, for his name:

7:7. What shall we say then? *Is* the law sin? God forbid. Nay, I had not known sin, but by the law: for I had not known lust, except the law had said, Thou shalt not covet.⁽¹¹⁾ 8. But sin, taking occasion by the commandment, wrought in me all manner of concupiscence. For without the law sin *was* dead. 9. For I was alive without the law once: but when the commandment came, sin revived, and I died. 10. And the commandment, which *was ordained* to life, I found *to be* unto death. 11. For sin, taking occasion by the commandment, deceived me, and by it slew *me*. 12. Wherefore the law *is* holy, and the commandment holy, and just, and good. 13. Was then that which is good made death unto me? God forbid. But sin, that it might appear sin, working death in me by that which is good; that sin by the commandment might become exceeding sinful. 14. For we know that the law is spiritual: but I am carnal, sold under sin. 15. For that which I do, I allow not: for what I would, that do I not; but what I hate, that do I. 16. If then I do that which I would not, I consent unto the law that *it is* good. 17. Now then it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me. 18. For I know that in me (that is, in my flesh,) dwelleth no good thing: for to will is present with me; but *how* to perform that which is good I find not. 19. For the good that I would, I do not: but the evil which I would not, that I do. 20. Now if I do that I would not, it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me. 21. I find then a law,

ROM. 7, 8.

that, when I would do good, evil is present with me. 22. For I delight in the law of God after the inward man: 23. But I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members. 24. O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death? 25. I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord. So then with the mind I myself serve the law of God; but with the flesh the law of sin.

8:[1. *There is therefore now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit.*]

(11) The best authorities agree in placing Rom. 7:7-25 among Paul's comments on his spiritual condition before his conversion. The "I" is both personal and general, the apostle illustrating from his own personal experience the spiritual state of "every man placed under the Mosaic law generally." He is speaking of the *unregenerate* man (so Meyer, Neander, Ewald, Weiss) and not of the regenerate man (Jerome, Luther, Calvin). "I am carnal, sold under sin" (v. 14), represents the condition of the apostle "long since past, but he realizes it," says Meyer, "as present, and places it before the eyes like a picture, in which the standpoint of the happier present, in which he now finds himself, renders possible the perspective that lends to every feature of his portrait the light of clearness and truth."

Nor is v. 22 against this view. ("For I delight in the law of God after the inward man.") "The last words, 'after the inward man,'" says Godet, "expressly remind us that it is only to a part of his being that we must apply what Paul here says of himself. We must beware of confounding the '*inward man*' with the '*new man*.' Paul means to speak only of that which he calls (vv. 23 and 25) the '*understanding*,' the organ with which the human soul is endowed to perceive the true and good, and to distinguish them from the bad and false."

In v. 24 the unregenerate man cries out for deliverance: "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" The answer comes to him with a gospel message, "I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord," v. 25. Thus in v. 24 and the first part of v. 25, says Dwight, Paul describes "the passing to the new life, the last step of the old and the first of the new." Then in a single sentence (v. 25) ("so then with the mind I myself serve the law of God, but with the flesh the law of sin") "he looks back and reviews the unregenerate state as preparatory to a setting forth of the opposite character of the regenerate condition in the next chapter," which buoyantly opens with the words, "There is therefore now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus." It seems conclusive, therefore, that Rom. 7:7-25 has a close connection with Paul's conversion. Stevens shows this with admirable vigor. For a full discussion see Meyer (Amer. edit.), Godet, and Stevens, "The Pauline Theology," pp. 12-20.

(d) EPHES. 3:1-8.

3:1. For this cause I Paul, the prisoner of Jesus Christ for you Gentiles, 2. If ye have heard of the dispensation of the grace of God which is given me to you-ward: 3. How that by revelation he made known unto me the mystery; (as I wrote afore in few words, 4. Whereby, when ye read, ye may understand my knowledge in the mys-

EPHES. 3.

tery of Christ,) 5. Which in other ages was not made known unto the sons of men, as it is now revealed unto his holy apostles and prophets by the Spirit; 6. That the Gentiles should be fellow heirs, and of the same body, and partakers of his promise in Christ by the gospel: 7. Whereof I was made a minister, according to the gift of the grace of God given unto me by the effectual working of his power. 8. Unto me, who am less than the least of all saints, is this grace given, that I should preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ; (12)

(12) "By revelation he made known unto me" (v. 3). "In substance the 'by the revelation of Jesus Christ' of Gal. 1:12 is not different. According to the history of the conversion in Acts 26 (not according to Acts 9 and 22), we have here to think not merely of the disclosures that followed the event near Damascus (as Gal. 1:12), but also of the revelation connected with this event itself; for the contents of what is revealed is here the blessing of the *Gentiles*, and with this compare Acts 26:17, 18, as also Gal. 1:16."

"The expression of humility, 'of all saints,' i. e., *all Christians* (v. 8), is even far stronger than 1 Cor. 15:9. He did not say 'than *the apostles*.' What was the ground of this self-abasement the reader *knew* without the necessity for Paul writing it to him—namely, not the consciousness of sin in general, in which respect Paul knew that he stood on the same level with any other (Rom. 3:22; 11:32; Gal. 3:22), as with every believer upon an equal footing of redemption by the death of Christ (Gal. 3:13, 14; Rom. 7:25; 8:2)—but *the deeply humbling consciousness of having persecuted Christ*, which, inextinguishable in him, so often accompanied his recalling of the grace of the apostolic office vouchsafed to him (1 Cor. 15:9; Phil. 3:6. comp. 1 Tim. 1:13)." Meyer.

(e) PHIL. 3:10-12.

3:[10. That I may know him, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable unto his death; 11. If by any means I might attain unto the resurrection of the dead.] 12. Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect: but I follow after, if that I may apprehend that for which also I am apprehended of Christ Jesus. (13)

(13) The allusion here is to a past event and therefore the aorist should be given its real rendering, "I *was* apprehended" (v. 12). Meyer interprets this "apprehending" as referring to Paul's conversion on the road to Damascus, when Christ "laid hold of him," and reversed his whole career. The expression is a graphic commentary on the miraculous appearance of Christ to Paul.

(f) 1 TIM. 1:12-16.

1:[12. And I thank Christ Jesus our Lord, who hath enabled me, for that he counted me faithful, putting me into the ministry; 13. Who was before a blasphemer, and a persecutor, and injurious: but I obtained mercy, because I did *it* ignorantly in unbelief:] 14. And the grace of our Lord was exceeding abundant with faith and love which is in Christ Jesus. 15. This *is* a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners; of whom I am chief. 16. Howbeit for this cause I obtained mercy, that in me first Jesus Christ might show forth all longsuffering, for a pattern to them which should hereafter believe on him to life everlasting. (14)

(14) "The statement that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners is intended, apparently, to contrast the gospel with the doctrine of the errorists, in that the great distinguishing characteristic of the gospel is its design of saving sinners. The errorists gave themselves to a vain discoursing about the law and legal righteousness, which moved in the outward region and even tended to laxness in true morality; but the teaching of the gospel was a teaching of forgiveness, and then of inward sanctification. To no better illustration of the power of this Christian doctrine, or its transforming effect, could the apostle refer than his own life, and so he at once turns again to his own case—declaring himself to be 'chief' (v. 15) among sinners, and the one in whom, as "first" (v. 16), the long-suffering of Christ was shown as an example for all who should follow in after times." Dwight in Meyer, 1 Tim.

The words for "first," v. 16, and "chief," v. 15, are the same in the original. The R. V. is stronger than the A. V.: "Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners; of whom I am chief: howbeit for this cause I obtained mercy, that in me as chief might Jesus Christ show forth all his long-suffering."

IV. PAUL IN DAMASCUS⁽¹⁵⁾ AND ARABIA, 37-39 A. D.

I. PAUL PREACHES IN THE SYNAGOGUES OF DAMASCUS.

ACTS 9:17-22.

9:[17. And Ananias went his way, and entered into the house; and putting his hands on him said, Brother Saul, the Lord, *even* Jesus, that appeared unto thee in the way as thou camest, hath sent me, that thou mightest receive thy sight, and be filled with the Holy Ghost. 18. And immediately there fell from his eyes as it had been scales: and he received sight forthwith, and arose, and was baptized. 19. And when he had received meat, he was strengthened.] Then was Saul certain days with the disciples which were at Damascus. 20. And straightway he preached Christ in the synagogues, that he is the Son of God. 21. But all that heard *him* were amazed, and said, Is not this he that destroyed them which called on this name in Jerusalem, and came hither for that intent, that he might bring them bound unto the chief priests? 22. But Saul increased the more in strength, and confounded the Jews which dwelt at Damascus, proving that this is very Christ.

ACTS 26:19, 20.

26:[19. Whereupon, O king Agrippa, I was not disobedient unto the heavenly vision:] 20. But showed first unto them of Damascus, [and at Jerusalem, and throughout all the coasts of Judea, and *then* to the Gentiles, that they should repent and turn to God, and do works meet for repentance.]

(15) For a discussion of the arrangement of Paul's visits in Damascus and Arabia as given in the text, see Appendix II.

2. PAUL IN ARABIA. HIS RETURN TO DAMASCUS AND FLIGHT TO JERUSALEM.

GAL. I:15-18.

[I:15. But when it pleased God, who separated me from my mother's womb, and called *me* by his grace, 16. To reveal his Son in me, that I might preach him among the heathen;] immediately I conferred not with flesh and blood: 17. Neither went I up to Jerusalem to them which were apostles before me; but I went into Arabia,⁽¹⁶⁾ and returned again unto Damascus. [18. Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem to see Peter.]

2 COR. II:32, 33.

ACTS 9:23-26.

9:23. And after that many days were fulfilled, the Jews took counsel to kill him: 24. But their laying wait was known of Saul. And they watched the gates day and night to kill him. 25. Then the disciples took him by night, and let *him* down by the wall in a basket. 26. And when Saul was come to Jerusalem,

II:32. In Damascus the governor under Aretas kept the city of the Damascenes with a garrison, desirous to apprehend me: 33. And through a window in a basket was I let down by the wall, and escaped his hands.

(16.) The length of the visit in Arabia is uncertain. Gal. 1:17, 18 gives three years as the time between Paul's conversion and the first visit to Jerusalem. Meyer and Lightfoot, while differing as to the place in the Acts at which the visit should be inserted, agree in making it a brief sojourn, merely an incident in Paul's life in Damascus, "a first, certainly fervent, experiment of extraneous ministry." The usual interpretation is that the greater part of the three years, the "many days" of Acts 9:23, were spent in Arabia. This is favored by the consideration that it would be eminently fitting that the apostle should go into retirement for reflection and spiritual preparation for his work as a preacher. In arranging the passages I have grouped them so that the three years (Gal. 1:18) includes the whole time from shortly after Paul's baptism to his final departure from Damascus, thus leaving the division of the time undetermined.

The Arabian visit is peculiarly interesting in its relation to the growth of Paul's theology and his personal religious experience. See Lightfoot on Galatians, Note I.; "St. Paul's Sojourn in Arabia;" Matheson's "Spiritual Development of St. Paul," chap. 4, and Stalker's "Life of St. Paul," chap. 4.

On the connection of the date of Paul's conversion with Aretas, king of Arabia, see Hackett (Introduction, p. 20), and Conybeare and Howson, Vol. I., pp. 81, 82.

V. PAUL'S FIRST VISIT TO JERUSALEM⁽¹⁷⁾ TO SEE PETER.
HE IS WARNED IN A VISION TO DEPART.

Time, 39 A. D., 15 Days.

ACTS 9:26-29.

9:26. And when Saul was come to Jerusalem, he assayed to join himself to the disciples: but they were all afraid of him, and believed not that he was a disciple. 27. But Barnabas took him, and brought *him* to the apostles, and declared unto them how he had seen the Lord in the way, and that he had spoken to him, and how he had preached boldly at Damascus in the name of Jesus. 28. And he was with them coming in and going out at Jerusalem. 29. And he spake boldly in the name of the Lord Jesus, and disputed against the Grecians: but they went about to slay him.

ACTS 22:15-21.

22: [15. For thou shalt be his witness unto all men of what thou hast seen and heard. 16. And now why tarriest thou? arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling on the name of the Lord.] 17. And it came to pass, that, when I was come again to Jerusalem, even while I prayed in the temple, I was in a trance; (18) 18. And saw him saying unto me, Make haste, and get thee quickly out of Jerusalem: for they will not receive thy testimony concerning me. 19. And I said, Lord, they know that I imprisoned and beat in every synagogue them that believed on thee: 20. And when the blood of thy martyr Stephen was shed, I also was standing by, and consenting unto his death, and kept the raiment of them that slew him. 21. And he said unto me, Depart: for I will send thee far hence unto the Gentiles.

GAL. I:17-20.

I: [17. Neither went I up to Jerusalem to them which were apostles before me; but I went into Arabia, and returned again unto Damascus.] 18. Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem to see Peter, and abode with him fifteen days. 19. But other of the apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's brother. 20. Now the things which I write unto you, behold, before God, I lie not.

(17) Paul's first visit to Jerusalem, which was of great importance in his life, is given quite fully here. In Galatians the time is specified as fifteen days, and the apostles whom he met are limited to Peter and James. Acts 9:27 alone would give the impression that Paul saw *all* the apostles, but the limiting expression in Galatians seems to imply that the rest were away on preaching tours or were otherwise prevented from meeting him. (The accuracy of Paul's statement is specially to be maintained here, as in Galatians he is proving that his gospel was given him from God at and after his conversion, and not by "flesh and blood," and that even when he did meet the apostles, three years after his conversion, he had but a brief conference with them of fifteen days, and with but two of the apostolic college, Peter and James.) His whole argument for the divine originality

of his gospel falls to pieces if the circumstances were not exactly as he states them in Gal. 1:15-21. A clear analysis of the two accounts of the first visit to Jerusalem is given by Lightfoot on Galatians, Note II., "St. Paul's First Visit to Jerusalem."

(18) That Paul's vision in the temple mentioned in his speech on the castle stairs (Acts 22:17-21) occurred during his first visit to Jerusalem is undisputed by Meyer, Alford, Hackett, and Lightfoot. In Acts 22:16 Paul narrates the account of his baptism by Ananias, and then adds in ver. 17, "and it came to pass, that, when I was come again to Jerusalem, even while I prayed in the temple." The blending of the two variations is simple. According to Luke, Paul leaves the city because of the solicitude of his friends (Acts 9:30). Paul, however, gives the more personal and spiritual reason, that of a supernatural vision in the temple (Acts 22:17-21). "It is a mark of truth that we find Luke stating the outward impulse; the apostle the inward ground." See Appendix III., "Paul's Visions."

VI. PAUL LEAVES JERUSALEM FOR CÆSAREA AND TAR-
SUS. HE PREACHES IN THE REGIONS OF SYRIA
AND CILICIA: *Time, 39 to 43 A. D., 4 or 5 Years.*

ACTS 9:29, 30.

9:[29. And he spake boldly in the name of the Lord Jesus, and disputed against the Grecians: but they went about to slay him.] 30. Which when the brethren knew, they brought him down to Cæsarea, and sent him forth to Tarsus.(19)

GAL. 1:21-24.

1:21. Afterwards I came into the regions of Syria and Cilicia;(20) 22. And was unknown by face unto the churches of Judea which were in Christ: 23. But they had heard only, That he which persecuted us in times past now preacheth the faith which once he destroyed. 24. And they glorified God in me.

(19) The Scriptures do not decide Paul's route here, and therefore I have made the account of Paul's visit to Cæsarea in the Acts and that to Syria and Cilicia in Galatians parallel narratives in the text. Hackett and Lightfoot discuss the order of Paul's journeys quite at length. The presumption is that Paul went from Cæsarea directly to Tarsus, Cilicia, and making that his headquarters afterwards preached in other parts of Cilicia and in Syria. It was at Tarsus, about four years later, that Barnabas found him, Acts 11:25.

In 2 Cor. 11:25 Paul says, "Thrice I suffered shipwreck." In the life of Paul as given in the Acts it is almost impossible to find a place for any of these shipwrecks. Alford conjectures that one of the three may have happened to Paul on his way from Cæsarea to Tarsus, Acts 9:30.

(20) It is clear that the visit to Syria and Cilicia (Gal. 1:21) must be inserted in the text with Acts 9:30. The time spent in this region occupied about four or

five years, as is seen from the following facts. Paul was in Jerusalem for the first time in 39 A. D., for fifteen days (Acts 9:26-29). Acts 9-30 describes his journey to Cæsarea and Tarsus which is the same as that "into the regions of Syria and Cilicia" of Gal. 1:21. Luke does not take up Paul's life again till Acts 11:25, 26, when Barnabas goes to Tarsus, finds Paul, and with him goes to Antioch. The time occupied during this interval is seen from the subsequent events. From other sources it is learned that Paul and Barnabas left Antioch early in 45 A. D. to take alms to Jerusalem, Acts 11:30. Deducting the year which they had spent in Antioch (Acts 11:26), 44 A. D. is approximately the date at which Paul left *Tarsus* for Antioch with Barnabas, Acts 11:25, 26. Therefore from 39 A. D. to 44 A. D. is the time, making four or five years, which must be allowed for in Luke's narrative of Paul's life between Acts 9:30 and Acts 11:25. Paul's addition of the Syrian and Cilician ministry is thus accounted for, and by inference from the Acts the length of that journey is four or five years. Compare Hackett on Acts 11:26, 28.

How Paul occupied himself during this time has been the subject of much conjecture. He says he "preached the faith which once he destroyed." Gal. 1:23. His visit to Jerusalem had made him personally known to the church there, but the other Judean churches during all these years knew him only by reputation. In Acts 15:23 "the brethren" in Syria and Cilicia are mentioned in the apostolic letter which was sent to the churches, and in Acts 15:41 it is said Paul "went through Syria and Cilicia confirming the churches." No account is given in the Acts of the planting of such churches. Paul fills out the history in Galatians, which leaves no doubt that during the four or five years he was in Syria and Cilicia (Gal. 1:21) he planted the churches there. This is one of the best illustrations of the "undesigned coincidences" between the Acts and the Pauline epistles which Paley has so fully pointed out in his "*Horæ Paulinæ*."

Conybeare and Howson think that possibly many of the sufferings of Paul mentioned in 2 Cor. 11:24-26 may be placed during his ministry in Syria and Cilicia. Luke records only one of the three Roman scourgings, viz., at Philippi, Acts 16:22, and the stoning which took place at Lystra, Acts 14:19. This leaves five Jewish scourgings, two of the three Roman beatings with rods, and the three shipwrecks, and the night and the day in the deep which is the sequel to one of the three unknown shipwrecks, all of which are omitted in the Acts. For lack of a better explanation Conybeare and Howson's hypothesis may be accepted. For an ingenious explanation of the time of the shipwrecks, see Alford, *Proleg.* 1 Cor., p. 53. On the scourgings, see Farrar, I., p. 226.

"How strongly," says Meyer, "does all this list of sufferings show the incompleteness of the book of Acts." For an eloquent treatment of Paul's "Tears," see Adolphe Monod's "*Saint Paul*," 2d Discourse, and the 4th Discourse, "His Personality, or his Weakness." Compare Appendix XVII., on "The Sufferings of St. Paul."

VII. PAUL AND BARNABAS IN TARSUS AND ANTIOCH.

I. BARNABAS SEEKS PAUL IN TARSUS. PAUL'S VISIONS.

ACTS 11:19-25.

2 COR. 12:1-4.

11:[19. Now they which were scattered abroad upon the persecution that arose about Stephen, travelled as far as Phenice, and Cyprus, and Antioch, preaching the word to none but unto the Jews only. 20. And some of them were men of Cyprus and Cyrene, which, when they were come to Antioch, spake unto the Grecians, preaching the Lord Jesus. 21. And the hand of the Lord was with them: and a great number believed, and turned unto the Lord.] 22. Then tidings of these things came unto the ears of the church which was in Jerusalem: and they sent forth Barnabas, that he should go as far as Antioch.(21) 23. Who, when he came, and had seen the grace of God, was glad, and exhorted them all that with purpose of heart they would cleave unto the Lord. 24. For he was a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost and of faith: and much people was added unto the Lord. 25. Then departed Barnabas to Tarsus, for to seek Saul:

12:1. It is not expedient for me doubtless to glory. I will come to visions and revelations of the Lord.(22) 2. I knew a man in Christ above fourteen years ago, (whether in the body, I cannot tell; or whether out of the body, I cannot tell: God knoweth;) such a one caught up to the third heaven. 3. And I knew such a man, (whether in the body, or out of the body, I cannot tell: God knoweth;) 4. How that he was caught up into paradise, and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter.

(21) Luke omits any mention of Paul from Acts 9:30 to 11:25, the intermediate chapters being devoted to Peter's work at Lydda and Joppa, the vision of Cornelius, and its effects. The narrative takes up Paul's life again with an account of Barnabas' journey to Antioch to inquire into the work there of which an account had come to the church at Jerusalem, Acts 11:22. Barnabas left Antioch and departed to Tarsus to *seek* Paul, as he did not know exactly where Paul was laboring, Gal. 1:21. He "would naturally direct his steps first to Tarsus, whither he would proceed by sea from Seleucia, or track his way through the defiles of the intervening mountains." Hackett.

(22) The date of Paul's visions mentioned in 2 Cor. 12:1-4 "probably refers back," says Alford, "to the time when he was at Tarsus waiting for God to point out his work, between Acts 9:30 and 11:25." Meyer says the event "belongs in point of time to the stay at Antioch or to the end of the stay at Tarsus, Acts 11:25." Some writers identify it with the circumstances attending Paul's conversion, while Wieseler and others make it the same as the appearance in the temple, Acts 22:17 (p. 27).

2. A YEAR IN ANTIOCH WITH BARNABAS, 44 A. D.

ACTS 11:25, 26.

11 [25. Then departed Barnabas to Tarsus, for to seek Saul:] 26. And when he had found him, he brought him unto Antioch. And it came to pass, that a whole year they assembled themselves with the church, and taught much people. And the disciples were called Christians first in Antioch.⁽²³⁾

(23) Barnabas found Paul in Tarsus and together they went to Antioch. "The last time the two friends met was in Jerusalem. In the period since that interview 'God had granted to the Gentiles repentance unto life' (ver. 18). Barnabas had 'seen the grace of God' (ver. 23), and under his own teaching 'a great multitude' (ver. 24) had been 'added to the Lord.' But he needed assistance; he needed the presence of one whose wisdom was greater than his own, whose zeal was an example to all, and whose peculiar mission had been miraculously declared. Saul recognized the voice of God in the words of Barnabas, and the two friends travelled in all haste to the Syrian metropolis." Conybeare and Howson in Hackett.

The "whole year" spent in Antioch was "that of A. D. 44, since it was the year which preceded Paul's second journey to Jerusalem, at the time of the famine. The apostle had spent the intervening years, from A. D. 39 to 44, in Syria and Cilicia." Hackett.

VIII. PAUL'S SECOND VISIT TO JERUSALEM, WITH ALMS.
PAUL AND BARNABAS RETURN TO ANTIOCH,

45 A. D.

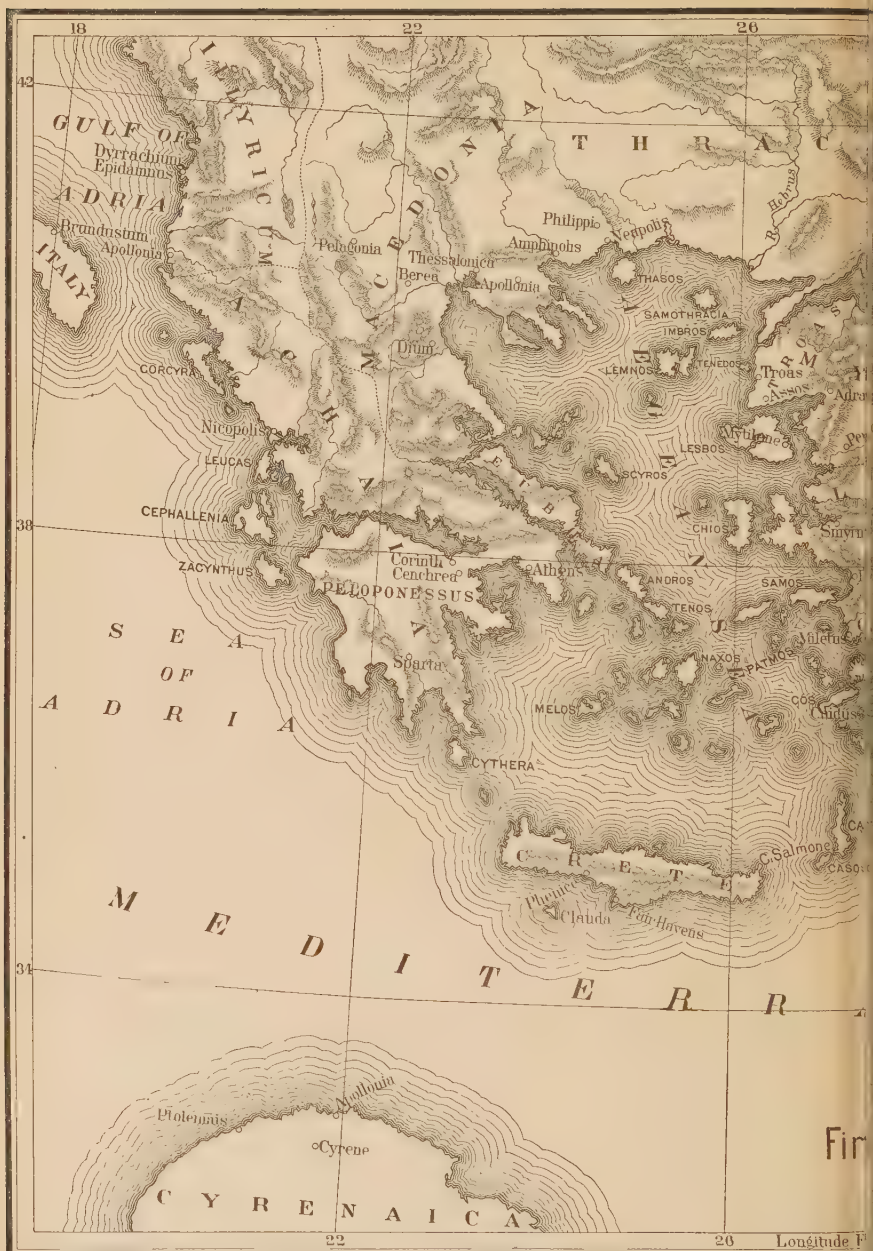
ACTS 11:27-30; 12:25.

11:27. And in these days came prophets from Jerusalem unto Antioch. 28. And there stood up one of them named Agabus,⁽²⁴⁾ and signified by the Spirit that there should be great dearth throughout all the world: which came to pass in the days of Claudius Cæsar. 29. Then the disciples, every man according to his ability, determined to send relief unto the brethren which dwelt in Judea: 30. Which also they did, and sent it to the elders by the hands of Barnabas and Saul.

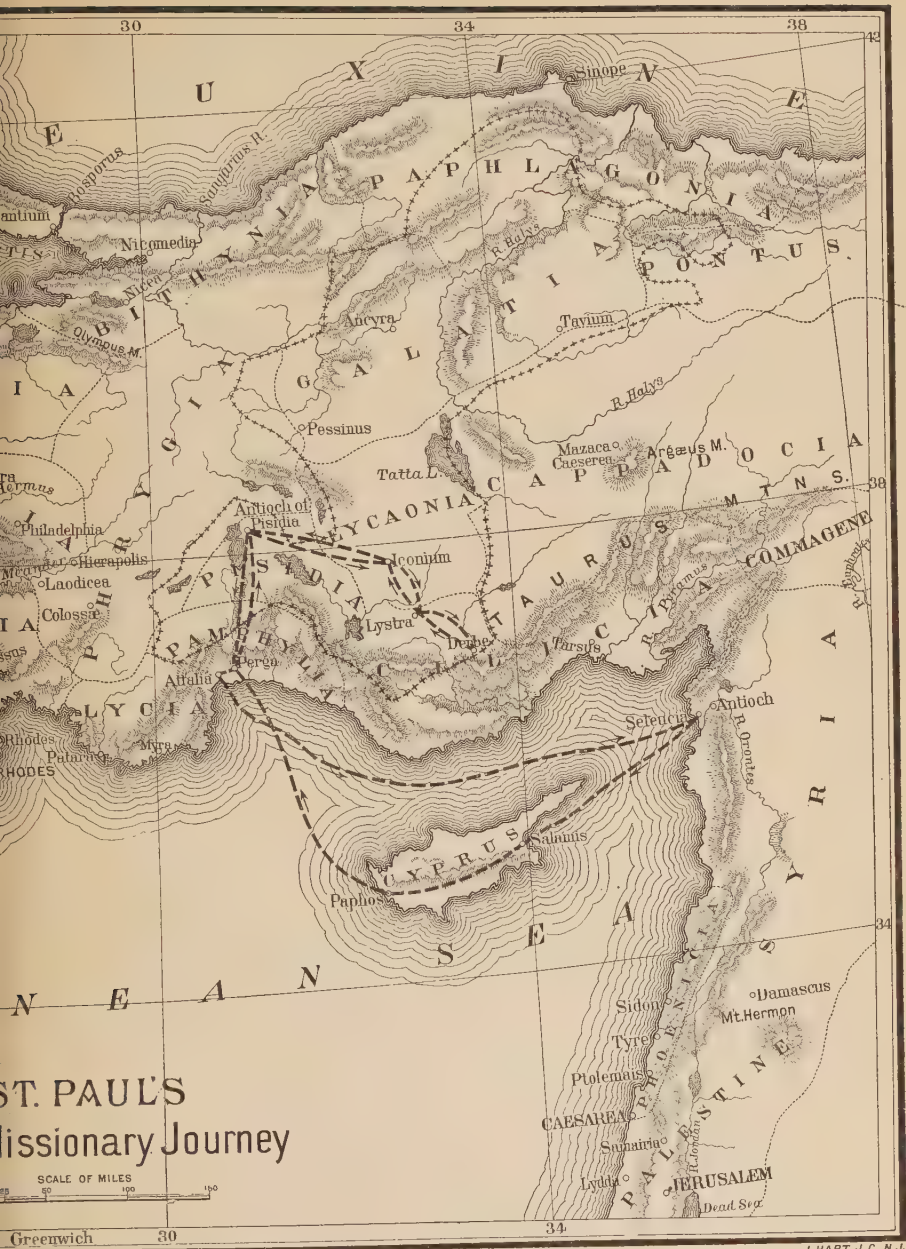
12:25. And Barnabas and Saul returned from Jerusalem, when they had fulfilled *their* ministry, and took with them John, whose surname was Mark.⁽²⁵⁾

(24) Agabus is mentioned again in Acts 21:10, 11.

(25) John Mark accompanied Paul and Barnabas on the first missionary journey. See Acts 13:5.



The + + + Lines indicate the boundaries of Galatia as in the Bible and Lystra would thus be the Galatian Churches which I Churches were further North (Ancyra, Pessinus, Tavium) U



ST. PAUL'S Missionary Journey

St. Paul's Church in the Roman Empire Before A.D. 170: Iconium, Antioch, in Pisidia, Derbe, and during this First Missionary Journey. The more common view is, that the Galatian churches, and were established by Paul during his Second Missionary Journey. See on Acts 16.6

PART II.

PAUL'S FIRST MISSIONARY JOURNEY, AND RESIDENCE IN ANTIOCH.

TIME, 45-49 A. D. 4 YEARS.

I. ANTIOCH IN SYRIA.

Paul and Barnabas are chosen to preach to the Gentiles.

II. SELEUCIA.

CYPRUS.

1. SALAMIS. Paul and Barnabas preach in the synagogues.

2. PAPHOS. Sergius Paulus. Elymas the sorcerer. Paul's change of name.

3. PERGA in Pamphylia. John Mark forsakes the apostles.

III. ANTIOCH IN PISIDIA.

1. Paul's address.

2. Paul and Barnabas are rejected by the Jews and turn to the Gentiles.

3. Paul's sickness and the kindness of the Galatians.

4. The departure from Antioch because of persecution.

IV. ICONIUM.

Paul and Barnabas are persecuted and flee to Lystra.

V. LYSTRA.

1. Paul heals a lame man. The people deify Paul and Barnabas.

2. Paul's speech.

3. Paul is stoned.

VI. DERBE.

RETURN TRIP.

LYSTRA.ICONIUM.ANTIOCH IN PISIDIA."THROUGHOUT PISIDIA."PERGA.

VII. PAUL'S COMMENT IN 2 TIMOTHY ON HIS FIRST MISSION-
ARY JOURNEY.

VIII. ATTALIA.

ANTIOCH IN SYRIA.

Paul and Barnabas abide a "long time" (two years) in Antioch:
48-49, A. D.

PART II.

Paul's First Missionary Journey⁽¹⁾ and Residence in Antioch.

ACTS 13: 1 TO 14: 28.

I. PAUL AND BARNABAS ARE CHOSEN TO PREACH TO THE GENTILES.

ACTS 13: 1-3.

13:1. Now there were in the church that was at Antioch certain prophets and teachers; as Barnabas, and Simeon that was called Niger, and Lucius of Cyrene, and Manaen, which had been brought up with Herod the tetrarch, and Saul.⁽²⁾ 2. As they ministered to the Lord, and fasted, the Holy Ghost said, Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them. 3. And when they had fasted and prayed, and laid *their* hands on them, they sent *them* away.

(1) For a summary of the first missionary journey see Stalker's "Life of St. Paul," sec. 79-88.

(2) "*Simeon* is one of those Jews who bore a Latin surname in addition to their Hebrew name, like 'John whose surname was Mark,' mentioned in the last verse of the preceding chapter, and like Saul himself, whose change of appellation will presently be brought under notice, Acts 13:9; comp. Col. 4:11. *Lucius*, probably the same who is mentioned in the Epistle to the Romans, Rom. 16:21, is a native of Cyrene, that African city which has already been mentioned as abounding in Jews, and which sent to Jerusalem our Saviour's cross-bearer. *Manaen* is spoken of as the foster-brother of Herod the Tetrarch: this was Herod Antipas, the Tetrarch of Galilee; and since we learn from Josephus that this Herod and his brother Archelaus were children of the same mother, and afterwards educated together at Rome, it is probable that this Christian prophet or teacher had spent his early childhood with those two princes, who were now both banished from Palestine to the banks of the Rhone." Conybeare and Howson.

II. IN CYPRUS.

I. AT SALAMIS PAUL AND BARNABAS PREACH IN THE SYNAGOGUES.

ACTS 13: 4-5.

13:4. So they, being sent forth by the Holy Ghost, departed unto Seleucia; and from thence they sailed to Cyprus. 5. And when they were at Salamis, they preached the word of God in the synagogues of the Jews: and they had also John to *their* minister.⁽³⁾

(3) The R. V. (v. 5) reads, "and they had also John as their *attendant*." Hackett thinks his duties were to assist Paul and Barnabas "in the declaration of the word (comp. 26:16; Luke 1:2; 1 Cor. 4:1). But the view of most critics is different: they suppose John to have had charge of the incidental cares of the party, so as to leave Paul and Barnabas more at liberty to preach the gospel. We are not informed how long they remained at Salamis or what success attended their labors."

"Mark the Evangelist is probably the same as 'John whose surname was Mark' (Acts 12:12, 25). . . . John Mark was the son of a certain Mary who dwelt at Jerusalem, and was therefore probably born in that city (Acts 12:12). He was the cousin (*anepsios*) of Barnabas (Col. 4:10). [*Sister's son*, Amer. ed.]" Smith's Bible Dict.

2. IN PAPHOS. SERGIUS PAULUS. ELYMAS THE SORCERER. PAUL'S CHANGE OF NAME.

ACTS 13:6-12.

13:6. And when they had gone through the isle unto Paphos, they found a certain sorcerer, a false prophet, a Jew, whose name *was* Bar-jesus: 7. Which was with the deputy of the country, Sergius Paulus, a prudent man; who called for Barnabas and Saul, and desired to hear the word of God. 8. But Elymas the sorcerer (for so is his name by interpretation) withstood them, seeking to turn away the deputy from the faith. 9. Then Saul, (who also *is called* Paul,) filled with the Holy Ghost, set his eyes on him,(4) 10. And said, O full of all subtilty and all mischief, *thou* child of the devil, *thou* enemy of all righteousness, wilt thou not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord? 11. And now, behold, the hand of the Lord *is* upon thee, and thou shalt be blind, not seeing the sun for a season. And immediately there fell on him a mist and a darkness; and he went about seeking some to lead him by the hand. 12. Then the deputy, when he saw what was done, believed, being astonished at the doctrine of the Lord.

(4) Why was Saul's name changed to Paul? "Among the later critics, Olshausen and Meyer adhere to the older view—that Paul assumed it out of respect to Sergius Paulus, who was converted by his instrumentality. But had the writer connected the name with that event he would have introduced it more naturally after ver. 12. He makes use of it, it will be observed, before speaking of the proconsul's conversion. Neander objects, further, that it was customary among the ancients for the pupil to adopt the name of the teacher, not the teacher to adopt that of the pupil. There is force, too, in his remark that, according to this view, the apostle would seem to recognize the salvation of a distinguished person as more important than that of others; for that Sergius was his first convert from heathenism, and received this honor on that account, assumes incorrectly that he had preached hitherto to none but those of his own nation. It is more probable that Paul acquired this name like other Jews in that age, who, when they associated with foreigners, had often two names—the one Jewish, the other foreign; sometimes entirely distinct, as Onias and Menelaus, Hillel and Pollio, and sometimes

similar in sound, as Tarphon and Trypho, Silas and Silvanus. In like manner the apostle may have been known as Saul among the Jews and Paul among the heathen; and being a native of a foreign city, as Lightfoot suggests, he may have borne the two names from early life. This explanation of the origin of the name accounts for its introduction at this stage of the history. It is here for the first time that Luke speaks directly of Paul's labors among the heathen; and it is natural that he should apply to him the name by which he was chiefly known in that sphere of his ministry." Hackett.

3. FROM PAPHOS TO PERGA IN PAMPHYLIA. JOHN MARK FORSAKES THE APOSTLES.

ACTS 13:13.

13:13. Now when Paul and his company loosed from Paphos, they came to Perga in Pamphylia: and John departing from them returned to Jerusalem.⁽⁵⁾

(5) "Mark 'departed from them from Pamphylia, and went not with them to the work.' He came with them up the Cestrus as far as Perga, but there he forsook them, and taking advantage of some vessel which was sailing towards Palestine he 'returned to Jerusalem' (Acts 13:13), which had been his home in earlier years (Acts 12:12, 25). We are not to suppose that this implies an absolute rejection of Christianity. A soldier who has wavered in one battle may live to obtain a glorious victory. Mark was afterwards not unwilling to accompany the apostles on a second missionary journey; and actually did accompany Barnabas again to Cyprus (Acts 15:39). Nor did St. Paul always retain his unfavorable judgment of him (Acts 15:38), but long afterwards, in his Roman imprisonment, commended him to the Colossians as one who was a 'fellow-worker unto the kingdom of God,' and a 'comfort' to himself (Col. 4:10); and in his latest letter, just before his death, he speaks of him again as one 'profitable to him for the ministry' (2 Tim. 4:11). Yet if we consider all the circumstances of his life, we shall not find it difficult to blame his conduct in Pamphylia, and to see good reasons why Paul should afterwards, at Antioch, distrust the steadiness of his character. . . . We are not left in doubt as to the real character of his departure. He was drawn from the work of God by the attraction of an earthly home. (Matthew Henry pithily remarks, 'Either he did not like the work, or he wanted to go and see his mother.') As he looked up from Perga to the Gentile mountains, his heart failed him and turned back with desire towards Jerusalem. He could not resolve to continue persevering 'in journeyings often, in perils of rivers, in perils of robbers.'" Conybeare and Howson.

III. IN ANTIOCH IN PISIDIA.

I. PAUL'S ADDRESS.

ACTS 13:14-41.

13:14. But when they departed from Perga, they came to Antioch in Pisidia, and went into the synagogue on the sabbath day, and sat down.⁽⁶⁾ 15. And after the reading

ACTS 13.

of the law and the prophets, the rulers of the synagogue sent unto them, saying, *Ye men and brethren*, if ye have any word of exhortation for the people, say on.⁽⁷⁾ 16. Then Paul stood up, and beckoning with *his* hand said, Men of Israel, and ye that fear God, give audience. 17. The God of this people of Israel chose our fathers, and exalted the people when they dwelt as strangers in the land of Egypt, and with a high arm brought he them out of it. 18. And about the time of forty years suffered he their manners in the wilderness. 19. And when he had destroyed seven nations in the land of Chanaan, he divided their land to them by lot. 20. And after that he gave *unto them* judges about the space of four hundred and fifty years, until Samuel the prophet. 21. And afterward they desired a king: and God gave unto them Saul the son of Cis, a man of the tribe of Benjamin, by the space of forty years. 22. And when he had removed him, he raised up unto them David to be their king; to whom also he gave testimony, and said, I have found David the *son* of Jesse, a man after mine own heart, which shall fulfil all my will. 23. Of this man's seed hath God, according to *his* promise, raised unto Israel a Saviour, Jesus: 24. When John had first preached before his coming the baptism of repentance to all the people of Israel. 25. And as John fulfilled his course, he said, Whom think ye that I am? I am not *he*. But, behold, there cometh one after me, whose shoes of *his* feet I am not worthy to loose. 26. Men *and* brethren, children of the stock of Abraham, and whosoever among you feareth God, to you is the word of this salvation sent. 27. For they that dwell at Jerusalem, and their rulers, because they knew him not, nor yet the voices of the prophets which are read every sabbath day, they have fulfilled *them* in condemning *him*. 28. And though they found no cause of death *in him*, yet desired they Pilate that he should be slain. 29. And when they had fulfilled all that was written of him, they took *him* down from the tree, and laid *him* in a sepulchre. 30. But God raised him from the dead: 31. And he was seen many days of them which came up with him from Galilee to Jerusalem, who are his witnesses unto the people. 32. And we declare unto you glad tidings, how that the promise which was made unto the fathers, 33. God hath fulfilled the same unto us their children, in that he hath raised up Jesus again; as it is also written in the second psalm, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee. 34. And as concerning that he raised him up from the dead, *now* no more to return to corruption, he said on this wise, I will give you the sure mercies of David. 35. Wherefore he saith also in another *psalm*, Thou shalt not suffer thine Holy One to see corruption. 36. For David, after he had served his own generation by the will of God, fell on sleep, and was laid unto his fathers, and saw corruption: 37. But he, whom God raised again, saw no corruption. 38. Be it known unto you therefore, men *and* brethren, that through this man is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins: 39. And by him all that believe are justified from all things, from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses. 40. Beware therefore, lest that come upon you, which is spoken of in the prophets; 41. Behold, ye despisers, and wonder, and perish: for I work a work in your days, a work which ye shall in no wise believe, though a man declare it unto you.

(6) On the dangers which Paul probably encountered in travelling from Perga to Antioch in Pisidia, see Conybeare and Howson, I., pp. 162-168. During this time the apostle may have endured many of those "perils of rivers" and "perils of robbers" which he mentions in 2 Cor. 11:26 (R. V.). See Appendix XVII., "The Sufferings of St. Paul."

(7) "St. Luke gives us, if not the whole speech delivered by St. Paul, yet at least the substance of what he said. For into however short a space he may have condensed the speeches which he reports, yet it is no mere outline, no dry analysis of them which he gives. He has evidently preserved, if not *all* the words, yet the

very words uttered by the apostle; nor can we fail to recognize in all these speeches a tone of thought, and even of expression, which stamps them with the individuality of the speaker. On the present occasion we find St. Paul beginning his address by connecting the Messiah whom he preached with the preparatory dispensation which ushered in His advent. He dwells upon the previous history of the Jewish people, for the same reasons which had led St. Stephen to do the like in his defence before the Sanhedrin. He endeavors to conciliate the minds of his Jewish audience by proving to them that the Messiah whom he proclaimed was the same whereto their own prophets bare witness; come, not to destroy the law, but to fulfil: and that His advent had been duly heralded by His predicted messenger. He then proceeds to remove the prejudice which the rejection of Jesus by the authorities at Jerusalem (the metropolis of their faith) would naturally raise in the minds of the Pisidian Jews against His divine mission. He shows that Christ's death and resurrection had accomplished the ancient prophecies, and declares this to be the 'glad tidings' which the apostles were charged to proclaim. . . . But having thus conciliated their feelings, and won their favorable attention, he proceeds in a bolder tone to declare the catholicity of Christ's salvation and the antithesis between the Gospel and the Law. His concluding words, as St. Luke relates them, might stand as a summary representing in outline the early chapters of the Epistle to the Romans; and therefore, conversely, those chapters will enable us to realize the manner in which St. Paul would have expanded the heads of argument which his disciple here records. The speech ends with a warning against the bigoted rejection of Christ's doctrine which this latter portion of the address was so likely to call forth." Conybeare and Howson.

The other addresses of Paul mentioned in the Acts are as follows: (1) 14:14-18, at Lystra; (2) 17:22-31, at Mars' Hill; (3) 20:17-35, at Miletus to the Ephesian elders; (4) 21:40-22:21, on the castle stairs in Jerusalem; (5) 22:30-23:9, before the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem; (6) 24:10-21, reply to Tertullus in Cæsarea; (7) 24:25, before Felix and Drusilla; (8) 25:10, 11 before Festus; (9) 26:1-29, before Agrippa; (10) 27:21-26, on the ship during the voyage to Rome; (11) 28:17-20, at the first meeting with the Jews in Rome; (12) 28:25-28, at the second meeting with the Jews in Rome. For a good discussion of the question whether Luke has reported Paul's own words in his record of his speeches, see Alford, *Proleg. Acts*, (7th edit., pp. 13-15).

2. PAUL AND BARNABAS ARE REJECTED BY THE JEWS AND TURN TO THE GENTILES.

ACTS 13:42-49.

13:42. And when the Jews were gone out of the synagogue, the Gentiles besought that these words might be preached to them the next sabbath. 43. Now when the congregation was broken up, many of the Jews and religious proselytes followed Paul and Barnabas; who, speaking to them, persuaded them to continue in the grace of God.⁽⁸⁾ 44. And the next sabbath day came almost the whole city together to hear the word of God.⁽⁹⁾ 45. But when the Jews saw the multitudes, they were filled with envy, and

ACTS 13.

spake against those things which were spoken by Paul, contradicting and blaspheming. 46. Then Paul and Barnabas waxed bold, and said, It was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken to you: but seeing ye put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles.⁽¹⁰⁾ 47. For so hath the Lord commanded us, *saying*, I have set thee to be a light of the Gentiles, that thou shouldest be for salvation unto the ends of the earth. 48: And when the Gentiles heard this, they were glad, and glorified the word of the Lord: and as many as were ordained to eternal life believed. 49. And the word of the Lord was published throughout all the region.

(8) "*When the synagogue was broken up* (ver. 43) seems, at first view, superfluous after *as they went out* (ver. 42). The procedure, says Neander, may have been this: As Paul and Barnabas were going out before the general dispersion of the assembly, the rulers of the synagogue may have requested that they would repeat their discourse on the next Sabbath. The people having then withdrawn, many of the Jews and proselytes followed the speakers for the purpose of declaring their assent to what they had heard, or of seeking further instruction." Hackett.

(9) "*Almost the entire city assembled* (ver. 44). Where, is not stated. Paul and Barnabas on that Sabbath may have spoken to different audiences. If they both repaired to the same synagogue the crowd must have filled not only the synagogue itself, but every avenue to it. (Compare Mark 2:2 seq.; Luke 8:19.) The hearers on this occasion were Gentiles as well as Jews." Hackett.

(10) "The apostles, promptly recognizing in the willingness of the Gentiles and the unbelief of the Jews the clear indications of the path of duty, followed that bold course which was alien to all the prejudices of a Jewish education. They turned at once and without reserve to the Gentiles. St. Paul was not unprepared for the events which called for this decision. The prophetic intimations at his first conversion, his vision in the temple at Jerusalem, his experience at the Syrian Antioch, his recent success in the island of Cyprus, must have led him to expect the Gentiles to listen to that message which the Jews were too ready to scorn. The words with which he turned from his unbelieving countrymen were these: 'It was needful that the Word of God should first be spoken unto you; but inasmuch as ye reject it, and deem yourselves unworthy of eternal life, lo! we turn to the Gentiles.' And then he quotes a prophetic passage from their own Sacred Writings. 'For thus hath the Lord commanded us, saying, I have set thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou shouldest be for salvation to the ends of the earth.' This is the first recorded instance of a scene which was often reënacted. It is the course which St. Paul himself defines in his Epistle to the Romans, when he describes the gospel as coming first to the Jew and then to the Gentile (Rom. 1:16; 2:9; compare 11:12, 25); and it is the course which he followed himself on various occasions of his life, at Corinth (Acts 18:6), at Ephesus (Acts 19:9), and at Rome (Acts 28:28)." Conybeare and Howson.

3. PAUL'S SICKNESS AND THE KINDNESS OF THE GALATIANS.

GAL. 4:13-15.

4:13. Ye know how through infirmity of the flesh I preached the gospel unto you at the first. 14. And my temptation which was in my flesh ye despised not, nor rejected; but received me as an angel of God, *even* as Christ Jesus. 15. Where is then the blessedness ye spake of? for I bear you record, that, if *it had been* possible, ye would have plucked out your own eyes, and have given them to me.(11)

(11) The selection from Galatians may seem at first sight out of place here. In placing it in the text I have followed Ramsay's interpretation of the word Galatia as given in his work, "The Church in the Roman Empire Before A. D. 170," p. 63. According to his view, Galatia in the New Testament does not refer simply to the territory in the central part of Asia Minor, but it is used in the larger sense of the vast Roman province of Galatia, which included also parts of Phrygia, Lycaonia and Pisidia. Ramsay thinks that Paul was taken sick at Perga, probably with malarial fever, and from thence he went into Antioch in Pisidia, where he received the loving attention from the Galatian Christians mentioned in Gal. 4:13-15.

On the general subject of the Galatian churches see a fuller note on Acts 16:6.

Gal. 4:13-15 is one of the passages which enables us to form an idea of the meaning of Paul's "thorn in the flesh." See Appendix XVII.

4. THE DEPARTURE FROM ANTIOCH BECAUSE OF PERSECUTION.

ACTS 13:50.

13:50. But the Jews stirred up the devout and honorable women, and the chief men of the city, and raised persecution against Paul and Barnabas, and expelled them out of their coasts.

IV. IN ICONIUM. PAUL AND BARNABAS ARE PERSECUTED AND FLEE TO LYSTRA.

ACTS 13:51, 52; 14:1-6.

13:51. But they shook off the dust of their feet against them, and came unto Iconium. 52. And the disciples were filled with joy, and with the Holy Ghost.

14:1. And it came to pass in Iconium, that they went both together into the synagogue of the Jews, and so spake, that a great multitude both of the Jews and also of the Greeks believed. 2. But the unbelieving Jews stirred up the Gentiles, and made their minds evil affected against the brethren. 3. Long time(12) therefore abode they speaking boldly in the Lord, which gave testimony unto the word of his grace, and granted signs and wonders to be done by their hands. 4. But the multitude of the city was divided: and part held with the Jews, and part with the apostles. 5. And when there was an assault made both of the Gentiles, and also of the Jews with their rulers, to use *them* despitefully, and to stone them, [6. They were ware of *it*, and fled unto Lystra and Derbe, cities of Lycaonia, and unto the region that lieth round about:]

(12) "*Long time* (v. 3). The entire journey was evidently a rapid one, and a stay here of a few months would be comparatively a *long time*. This is our only notice respecting the time spent at the places visited on this tour." Hackett.

V. IN LYSTRA.

I. PAUL HEALS A LAME MAN. THE PEOPLE DEIFY PAUL AND BARNABAS.

ACTS 14:6-13.

14:6. They were ware of *it*, and fled unto Lystra and Derbe, cities of Lycaonia, and unto the region that lieth round about: 7. And there they preached the gospel. 8. And there sat a certain man at Lystra, impotent in his feet, being a cripple from his mother's womb, who never had walked: 9. The same heard Paul speak: who steadfastly beholding him, and perceiving that he had faith to be healed, 10. Said with a loud voice, Stand upright on thy feet. And he leaped and walked. 11. And when the people saw what Paul had done, they lifted up their voices, saying in the speech of Lycaonia, The gods are come down to us in the likeness of men. 12. And they called Barnabas, Jupiter; and Paul, Mercurius, because he was the chief speaker.⁽¹³⁾ 13. Then the priest of Jupiter, which was before their city, brought oxen and garlands unto the gates, and would have done sacrifice with the people.

(13) "Such a cure of a congenital disease, so sudden and so complete, would have confounded the most skilful and skeptical physician. An illiterate people would be filled with astonishment, and rush immediately to the conclusion that supernatural powers were present among them. These Lycaonians thought at once of their native traditions, and crying out vociferously in their mother-tongue—and we all know how the strongest feelings of an excited people find vent in the language of childhood—they exclaimed that the gods had again visited them in the likeness of men—that Jupiter and Mercury were again in Lycaonia—that the persuasive speaker was Mercury and his companion Jupiter. They identified Paul with Mercury because his eloquence corresponded with one of that divinity's attributes. Paul was the 'chief speaker,' and Mercury was the god of eloquence. And if it be asked why they identified Barnabas with Jupiter, it is evidently a sufficient answer to say that these two divinities were always represented as companions in their terrestrial expeditions, though we may well believe (with Chrysostom and others) that there was something majestically benignant in his appearance, while the personal aspect of Paul (and for this we can quote his own statements) was comparatively insignificant (2 Cor. 10:1, 10, where we must remember that he is quoting the statements of his adversaries. . . .) It is also very possible that Barnabas was *older*, and therefore more *venerable* in appearance, than St. Paul." Conybeare and Howson.

On the traditional account of Paul's appearance, see Schaff, (Vol. I., pp. 294-296), and Farrar (II. Excursus 11). Compare 2 Cor. 10:1, 10; 11:6.

2. PAUL'S SPEECH.

ACTS 14:14-18.

14:14. Which when the apostles, Barnabas and Paul, heard of, they rent their clothes, and ran in among the people, crying out, 15. And saying, Sirs, why do ye these things? We also are men of like passions with you, and preach unto you that ye should turn from these vanities unto the living God, which made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and all things that are therein: 16. Who in times past suffered all nations to walk in their own ways. 17. Nevertheless he left not himself without witness, in that he did good, and gave us rain from heaven, and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness. 18. And with these sayings scarce restrained they the people, that they had not done sacrifice unto them.

3. PAUL IS STONED.

ACTS 14:19, 20.

2 COR. 11:24, 25.

14:19. And there came thither certain Jews from Antioch and Iconium, who persuaded the people, and, having stoned Paul, drew him out of the city, supposing he had been dead. (14) 20. Howbeit, as the disciples stood round about him, he rose up, and came into the city: (15)

11:24. Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one. 25. Thrice was I beaten with rods, once was I stoned, [thrice I suffered shipwreck, a night and a day I have been in the deep;]

(14) "The Jews, taking advantage of the credulity of a rude tribe, were able to accomplish at Lystra the design they had meditated at Iconium (Acts 14:5). St. Paul was stoned—not hurried out of the city to execution like St. Stephen, the memory of whose death must have come over St. Paul at this moment with impressive force—but stoned somewhere in the streets of Lystra, and then dragged through the city gate and cast outside the walls, under the belief that he was dead. This is the occasion to which the apostle afterwards alluded in the words, 'Once was I stoned' (2 Cor. 11:25)." Conybeare and Howson. Compare on 2 Cor. 11:25, Appendix XVII., "The Sufferings of Paul."

(15) Notwithstanding Paul's persecutions in Lystra his work bore fruit. Probably *Timothy* and his grandmother, *Lois*, and his mother, *Eunice*, were converted at this time.

VI. TO DERBE, LYSTRA, ICONIUM, ANTIOCH IN PISIDIA,
AND "THROUGHOUT PISIDIA," TO PERGA.

ACTS 14:20-25.

14:20. Howbeit, as the disciples stood round about him, he rose up, and came into the city:] and the next day he departed with Barnabas to Derbe. 21. And when they had preached the gospel to that city, and had taught many, (16) they returned again to Lystra, and to Iconium and Antioch, 22. Confirming the souls of the disciples, and exhorting them to continue in the faith, and that we must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God. 23. And when they had ordained them elders in every church, and had prayed with fasting, they commended them to the Lord, on whom they believed. 24. And after they had passed throughout Pisidia, they came to Pamphylia. 25. And when they had preached the word in Perga, [they went down into Attalia:]

(16) On *Gaius* of Derbe, who was probably one of the converts at this time see note on Acts 20:4.

VII. PAUL'S COMMENT IN 2 TIMOTHY ON HIS FIRST MISSIONARY JOURNEY.⁽¹⁷⁾

2 TIM. 3:10, 11.

3:10. But thou hast fully known my doctrine, manner of life, purpose, faith, long-suffering, charity, patience, 11. Persecutions, afflictions, which came unto me at Antioch, at Iconium, at Lystra; what persecutions I endured: but out of *them* all the Lord delivered me.

(17) On the harmony of 2 Tim. 3:10, 11 with Acts 13:14 to 14:25 Paley says, "We have so far, therefore, a conformity between the history and the epistle, that St. Paul is asserted in the history to have suffered persecution in the three cities, his persecutions at which are appealed to in the epistle; and not only so, but to have suffered these persecutions both in immediate succession and in the order in which the cities are mentioned in the epistle. The conformity also extends to another circumstance. In the apostolic history Lystra and Derbe are commonly mentioned together; in the quotation from the epistle Lystra is mentioned, and not Derbe. And the distinction will appear on this occasion to be accurate; for St. Paul is here enumerating his persecutions; and although he underwent grievous persecutions in each of the three cities through which he passed to Derbe, at Derbe itself he met with none: 'The next day he departed,' says the historian, 'to Derbe; and, when they had preached the gospel to that city, and had taught many, they returned again to Lystra' (Acts 14:21). The epistle, therefore, in the names of the cities, in the order in which they are enumerated, and in the place at which the enumeration stops, corresponds exactly with the history." "*Horæ Paulinæ*," p. 215.

VIII. PAUL AND BARNABAS ABIDE A "LONG TIME" (TWO YEARS) IN ANTIOCH, 48-49 A. D.

ACTS 14:25-28.

14:[25. And when they had preached the word in Perga,] they went down into Attalia: 26. And thence sailed to Antioch, from whence they had been recommended to the grace of God for the work which they fulfilled. 27. And when they were come, and had gathered the church together, they rehearsed all that God had done with them, and how he had opened the door of faith unto the Gentiles. 28. And there they abode long time with the disciples.⁽¹⁸⁾

(18) The first missionary journey properly ends with the arrival of Paul and Barnabas at Antioch (Acts 14:26). Here they abode "no little time" (v. 28 R. V.). The meaning of this expression can be only approximately determined. "The Apostolic Council at Jerusalem was held in A. D. 50, and, as Paul departed

on his first mission in A. D. 45, we must divide the interval from A. D. 45 to 50 between his journey among the heathen and his subsequent abode at Antioch. The best authorities, as Anger, Wieseler, Meyer, Winer, De Wette and others, agree in this result. How we are to distribute the intermediate years is more uncertain. It will be found that the apostle travelled more extensively during his second missionary tour than during the first; and, as the limitations of time in that part of the history allow us to assign but three years, or three and a half, to that excursion, we may consider two years, perhaps, as sufficient for this journey. This conclusion would place the return to Antioch near the close of A. D. 47, since the apostle must have set forth somewhat late in the year A. D. 45. Accordingly, the years A. D. 48 and 49 would be the *period not brief* [v. 28] which Paul and Barnabas spent at Antioch between their return and the Council at Jerusalem. While they resided in that city, for the most part, they would be able, both by their own personal efforts and their supervision of the efforts of others, to extend the gospel in the regions around them." Hackett.

PART III.

THE FIRST CHURCH COUNCIL IN JERUSALEM, AND PAUL'S STAY IN ANTIOCH.

TIME, 50 A. D.

I. ANTIOCH.

Paul and Barnabas are sent to Jerusalem.

PHŒNICIA.

SAMARIA.

II. JERUSALEM, PAUL'S THIRD VISIT.

1. The preliminary meetings in Jerusalem.

- (a) The formal reception by the Church of the delegates from Antioch.
- (b) The private interviews of Paul.
- (c) The public discussion. The question of the circumcision of Titus.

2. The meeting of the Council proper.

- (a) Peter's speech.
- (b) Paul and Barnabas testify of their success among the Gentiles.
- (c) Speech of James.
- (d) The selection of delegates-at-large to the churches.
- (e) The letter-missive to the churches.
- (f) The mission of Paul and Barnabas to the Gentiles ratified.

III. ANTIOCH.

The sojourn of Paul and Barnabas at Antioch "some days."

- 1. The apostolic letter is delivered to the church. Paul, Barnabas and others continue to teach and preach.
- 2. The quarrel between Paul and Peter.

PART III.

The First Church Council in Jerusalem, and
Paul's Stay in Antioch.

ACTS 15 : 1-35.

I. PAUL AND BARNABAS ARE SENT TO JERUSALEM.

ACTS 15:1-3.

15:1. And certain men which came down from Judea taught the brethren, *and said*, Except ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses, ye cannot be saved.⁽¹⁾ 2. When therefore Paul and Barnabas had no small dissension and disputation with them, they determined that Paul and Barnabas, and certain other of them, should go up to Jerusalem unto the apostles and elders about this question. 3. And being brought on their way by the church, they passed through Phenice and Samaria, declaring the conversion of the Gentiles: and they caused great joy unto all the brethren.

GAL. 2:1, 2.

2:1. Then fourteen years after⁽²⁾ I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas, and took Titus with *me* also. 2. And I went up by revelation,

(1) Certain men came down from Judea to Antioch and taught that circumcision was necessary for salvation. "These men," says Schaff, "were Christians in name, but narrow-minded and narrow-hearted Jews in fact. They were scrupulous, pedantic, slavish formalists, ritualists, and traditionalists of the malignant type. Circumcision of the flesh was to them of more importance than circumcision of the heart, or at all events an indispensable condition of salvation. Such men could, of course, not understand and appreciate Paul, but hated and feared him as a dangerous radical and rebel. Envy and jealousy mixed with their religious prejudice. They got alarmed at the rapid progress of the gospel among the unclean Gentiles who threatened to soil the purity of the church The agitation of these Judaizing partisans and zealots brought the Christian church, twenty years after its founding, to the brink of a split which would have seriously impeded its progress and endangered its final success. To avert this calamity, and to settle this irrepressible conflict, the churches of Jerusalem and Antioch resolved to hold a private and a public conference at Jerusalem. Antioch sent Paul and Barnabas as commissioners to represent the Gentile converts. Paul, fully aware of the grav-

ity of the crisis, obeyed at the same time an inner and higher impulse. (Paul mentions the subjective motive, Gal. 2:2, Luke, the objective call, Acts 15:2.) He also took with him Titus, a native Greek, as a living specimen of what the Spirit of God could accomplish without circumcision. The conference was held A. D. 50 or 51 (fourteen years after Paul's conversion.) It was the first and in some respects the most important council or synod held in the history of Christendom, though differing widely from the councils of later times." "History of the Christian Church," Vol. I., pp. 338-340.

(2) That the visit of Paul to Jerusalem (Acts 15:2) is identical with that named in Gal. 2:1 is held by Lightfoot, Schaff, Hackett, Meyer, and Alford. See Lightfoot on Galatians, Note V., "The later visit of St. Paul to Jerusalem," and Conybeare and Howson, Vol. I., pp. 227-234. On the relation of the "fourteen years after" to the chronology of Paul's life, see Hackett, Introduction, p. 21.

II. PAUL'S THIRD VISIT TO JERUSALEM.

I. THE PRELIMINARY MEETINGS IN JERUSALEM.⁽³⁾

(a) FORMAL RECEPTION BY THE CHURCH OF THE DELEGATES FROM ANTIOCH.

ACTS 15:4.

15:4. And when they were come to Jerusalem, they were received of the church, and of the apostles and elders, and they declared all things that God had done with them.

(b) THE PRIVATE INTERVIEWS OF PAUL.

GAL. 2:2.

2:2. [And I went up by revelation,] and communicated unto them that gospel which I preach among the Gentiles, but privately to them which were of reputation, lest by any means I should run, or had run, in vain.

(3) I have given a more minute arrangement of the meetings of the council than is usually attempted by commentators. While it can hardly be called more than an hypothesis it makes more natural and orderly the proceedings of the first Church council. From Gal. 2:2 it is seen that Paul had private interviews with the apostles and others. Acts 15:4 and 6 indicate that there were at least two public meetings. It explains the movements of Paul and his colleagues better to assume that there were *three* public meetings, as follows: 1. On arriving in Jerusalem the delegates from Antioch were formally received by the Church. According to the slowness of deliberative bodies in coming to the question of the hour, nothing besides the routine business was accomplished. After this meeting Paul would naturally seek out the prominent men in the church, and then occurred many of those private interviews mentioned in Gal. 2:2, which would prepare the way for future deliberations. 2. The second public meeting (Acts 15:5) was

more stormy than the first. The Judaizing party came out in full strength and, growing bolder, demanded as a test case the circumcision of Titus, one of Paul's companions. This would settle the whole dispute and henceforth Gentile Christians must pass under the yoke of the Jewish law. The discussion was sharp and the meeting probably broke up without coming to any conclusion. 3. Then followed the council proper, "and the apostles and elders came together for to consider of this matter." Acts 15:6. Now there is much more deliberation and formality in the mode of procedure; the speeches are strong and argumentative; there seems to be some kind of parliamentary order in the discussions; we can almost imagine the apostles speaking to a motion and being held to the question in their debates. The meeting was a triumph for catholicity. The action of the body was harmonious and their judgment was expressed in a decree to be sent by chosen messengers to the churches. This union of sentiment was an evolution. The calm decision of the council was the fruit of those previous public meetings and private conversations which cleared the air of bigotry and malice. The second question which the council was asked to settle was "the personal relations between the Jewish and Gentile apostles." The decision is given in Gal. 2:6-10. I have placed this act of the council after the adoption of the letter-missive to the churches on the question of Gentile liberty, as in ecclesiastical bodies doctrinal questions take precedence of all others. The theological dispute once ended, the settlement of the personal relations between Jewish and Gentile apostles and the division of their respective fields would follow as a matter of harmonious routine.

Those who follow Meyer strictly in the arrangement of the various meetings omit the second public meeting (Acts 15:5), and put the request to circumcise Titus during the "much disputing" (Acts 15:7) which began when the council was assembled. Compare on the whole subject Lightfoot on Galatians 2:1-10, and Stalker, Secs. 152, 153.

(c) THE PUBLIC DISCUSSION. THE QUESTION OF THE CIRCUMCISION OF TITUS.

ACTS 15:5.

15:5. But there rose up certain of the sect of the Pharisees which believed, saying, That it was needful to circumcise them, and to command *them* to keep the law of Moses.

GAL. 2:3-5.

2:3. But neither Titus, who was with me, being a Greek, was compelled to be circumcised:(4) 4. And that because of false brethren unawares brought in, who came in privily to spy out our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into bondage: 5. To whom we gave place by subjection, no, not for an hour; that the truth of the gospel might continue with you.

(4) "The circumcision of Titus, as a test case," says Schaff, "was of course strongly demanded by the Pharisaical legalists, but as strongly resisted by Paul, and not enforced (Gal. 2:3-5). To yield here even for a moment would have been fatal to the cause of Christian liberty, and would have implied a wholesale circumcision of the Gentile converts, which was impossible. But how could

Paul consistently afterwards circumcise Timothy? (Acts 16:3.) The answer is that he circumcised Timothy as a Jew, not as a Gentile, and that he did it as a voluntary act of expediency, for the purpose of making Timothy more useful among the Jews, who had a claim on him as the son of a Jewish mother, and would not have allowed him to teach in a synagogue without this token of membership; while in the case of Titus, a pure Greek, circumcision was demanded as a principle and as a condition of justification and salvation. Paul was inflexible in resisting the demands of *false* brethren, but always willing to accommodate himself to *weak* brethren, and to become as a Jew to the Jews and as a Gentile to the Gentiles, in order to save them both. In genuine Christian freedom he cared nothing for circumcision or uncircumcision as a mere rite or external condition, and as compared with the keeping of the commandments of God and the new creature in Christ."

Some writers (Tertullian, Renan, Farrar) think that Titus *was* circumcised at this time. He was not compelled to yield, but *voluntarily* submitted to circumcision for the sake of peace. See Farrar, Vol. I., p. 415, and Schaff, "History of the Christian Church," Vol. I., pp. 342, 343, 351.

2. THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL PROPER.

(a) PETER'S SPEECH.

ACTS 15:6-11.

15:6. And the apostles and elders came together for to consider of this matter. 7. And when there had been much disputing, Peter rose up, and said unto them, Men *and* brethren, ye know how that a good while ago God make choice among us, that the Gentiles by my mouth should hear the word of the gospel, and believe. 8. And God, which knoweth the hearts, bare them witness, giving them the Holy Ghost, even as *he did* unto us; 9. And put no difference between us and them, purifying their hearts by faith. 10. Now therefore why tempt ye God, to put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples, which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear? 11. But we believe that through the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ we shall be saved, even as they.

(b) PAUL AND BARNABAS TESTIFY OF THEIR SUCCESS AMONG THE GENTILES.

ACTS 15:12.

15:12. Then all the multitude kept silence, and gave audience to Barnabas and Paul, declaring what miracles and wonders God had wrought among the Gentiles by them.

(c) SPEECH OF JAMES.

ACTS 15:13-21.

15:13. And after they had held their peace, James answered, saying, Men *and* brethren, hearken unto me: 14. Simeon hath declared how God at the first did visit the Gentiles, to take out of them a people for his name. 15. And to this agree the words of the prophets; as it is written, 16. After this I will return, and will build again the tabernacle of David, which is fallen down; and I will build again the ruins thereof, and I will set it up: 17. That the residue of men might seek after the Lord, and all the Gentiles, upon whom my name is called, saith the Lord, who doeth all these things. 18. Known

ACTS 15.

unto God are all his works from the beginning of the world. 19. Wherefore my sentence is, that we trouble not them, which from among the Gentiles are turned to God: 20. But that we write unto them, that they abstain from pollutions of idols, and *from* fornication, and *from* things strangled, and *from* blood. 21. For Moses of old time hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogues every sabbath day.

(d) THE SELECTION OF DELEGATES-AT-LARGE TO THE CHURCHES.

ACTS 15:22.

15:22. Then pleased it the apostles and elders, with the whole church, to send chosen men of their own company to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas; *namely*, Judas surnamed Barsabas, and Silas, chief men among the brethren:(5)

(5) "*Judas* is known only from this notice. His surname opposes the conjecture that he was Judas Thaddeus, the apostle. There is no proof that he was a brother of Joseph Barsabas, the candidate for the apostleship (Acts 1:23). *Silas* became Paul's associate in his second missionary tour (Acts 15:40). For *Silas* in the Acts we have always *Silvanus* in the Epistles. The former was his Jewish name, probably; the latter his Gentile or foreign name." Hackett.

(e) THE LETTER-MISSIVE TO THE CHURCHES.

ACTS 15:23-29.

15:23. And they wrote *letters* by them after this manner; The apostles and elders and brethren *send* greeting unto the brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia: 24. Forasmuch as we have heard, that certain which went out from us have troubled you with words, subverting your souls, saying, *Ye must* be circumcised, and keep the law; to whom we gave no *such* commandment: 25. It seemed good unto us, being assembled with one accord, to send chosen men unto you with our beloved Barnabas and Paul, 26. Men that have hazarded their lives for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. 27. We have sent therefore Judas and Silas, who shall also tell *you* the same things by mouth. 28. For it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things: 29. That ye abstain from meats offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication; from which if ye keep yourselves, ye shall do well. Fare ye well.(6)

(6) The question to be settled at the council was, Must Gentile Christians be circumcised in order to be saved? The answer was given emphatically in the negative. "The decision of the apostles and elders was in harmony with Paul's practice: the Gentiles were not to be required to be circumcised; only they were enjoined to abstain from meat offered in sacrifice to idols, from fornication, and from blood. To these conditions Paul consented. He did not indeed see any harm in eating meat which had been used in idolatrous sacrifices, when it was exposed for sale in the market; but the feasts upon such meat in the idol temples, which were often followed by wild outbreaks of sensuality, alluded to in the prohibition of fornication, were temptations against which the converts from heathenism required to be warned. The prohibition of blood—that is, of eating meat killed

without the blood being drained off—was a concession to extreme Jewish prejudice, which, as it involved no principle, he did not think it necessary to oppose.

“So the agitating question appeared to be settled by an authority so august that none could question it. If Peter, John and James, the pillars of the church of Jerusalem, as well as Paul and Barnabas, the heads of the Gentile mission, arrived at a unanimous decision, all consciences might be satisfied and all opposing mouths stopped.” Stalker, secs. 152, 153.

(f) THE MISSION OF PAUL AND BARNABAS TO THE GENTILES RATIFIED.⁽⁷⁾

GAL. 2:3-10.

2:[3. But neither Titus, who ~~was~~ with me, being a Greek, was compelled to be circumcised: 4. And that because of false brethren unawares brought in, who came in privily to spy out our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into bondage: 5. To whom we gave place by subjection, no, not for an hour; that the truth of the gospel might continue with you.] 6. But of those who seemed to be somewhat, (whatsoever they were, it maketh no matter to me: God accepteth no man's person :) for they who seemed to be somewhat in conference added nothing to me: 7. But contrariwise, when they saw that the gospel of the uncircumcision was committed unto me, as the gospel of the circumcision was unto Peter; 8. (For he that wrought effectually in Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision, the same was mighty in me toward the Gentiles;) 9. And when James, Cephas, and John,⁽⁸⁾ who seemed to be pillars, perceived the grace that was given unto me, they gave to me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship; that we should go unto the heathen, and they unto the circumcision. 10. Only they would that we should remember the poor; the same which I also was forward to do.

(7) Luke records that in the course of the debate, Paul and Barnabas gave an account of their successful labors among the Gentiles (Acts 15:12). In Gal. 2:7-10, Paul gives more fully the bearing of their remarks on another question upon which the council had to give judgment. They were asked not only “to decide the question of circumcision and to define the relation between the Jewish and Gentile Christians,” but also “to settle the personal relation between the Jewish and Gentile apostles, and to divide their fields of labor. . . . The pillars of the Jewish Church, James, Peter, and John—whatever their views may have been before—were fully convinced, by the logic of events in which they recognized the hand of Providence, that Paul as well as Barnabas by the extraordinary success of his labors had proven himself to be divinely called to the apostolate of the Gentiles. They took no exception and made no addition to his gospel. On the contrary, when they saw that God, who gave grace and strength to Peter for the apostleship of the circumcision, gave grace and strength to Paul also for the conversion of the uncircumcision, they extended to him and to Barnabas the right hand of fellowship, with the understanding that they would divide as far as practicable the large field of labor, and that Paul should manifest his brotherly love and cement the union by aiding in the support of the poor, often persecuted and famine-stricken, brethren of Judæa. This service of charity he had cheerfully done before, and as cheerfully and faithfully did afterward by raising collections among his Greek congregations and carrying

the money in person to Jerusalem. (Gal. 2:7-10; comp. Acts 11:30; 24:17; 1 Cor. 16:1-3; 2 Cor. 8 and 9; Rom. 15:25-27). Such is the unequivocal testimony of the fraternal understanding among the apostles from the mouth of Paul himself. And the letter of the council officially recognizes this by mentioning 'beloved' Barnabas and Paul, as 'men who have hazarded their lives for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.'" Schaff.

(8) Gal. 2:9 records the only meeting of Paul and St. John given in Scripture. See an interesting note on the suggestions of the incident in Conybeare and Howson, I., pp. 219-220.

III. THE SOJOURN OF PAUL AND BARNABAS AT ANTIOCH "SOME DAYS."

I. THE APOSTOLIC LETTER IS DELIVERED TO THE CHURCH. PAUL, BARNABAS AND OTHERS CONTINUE TO TEACH AND PREACH.

ACTS 15:30-36.

15:30. So when they were dismissed, they came to Antioch; and when they had gathered the multitude together, they delivered the epistle: 31. *Which* when they had read, they rejoiced for the consolation. 32. And Judas and Silas, being prophets also themselves, exhorted the brethren with many words, and confirmed *them*. 33. And after they had tarried *there* a space, they were let go in peace from the brethren unto the apostles. 34. Notwithstanding it pleased Silas to abide there still.⁽⁹⁾ 35. Paul also and Barnabas continued in Antioch, teaching and preaching the word of the Lord, with many others also. [36. And some days after, Paul said unto Barnabas, Let us go again and visit our brethren in every city where we have preached the word of the Lord, *and see* how they do.]

(9) The R. V. omits verse 34, "Notwithstanding it pleased Silas to abide there still."

2. THE QUARREL BETWEEN PAUL AND PETER.⁽¹⁰⁾

GAL. 2:11-14.

2:11. But when Peter was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed. 12. For before that certain came from James, he did eat with the Gentiles: but when they were come, he withdrew and separated himself, fearing them which were of the circumcision. 13. And the other Jews dissembled likewise with him; insomuch that Barnabas also was carried away with their dissimulation. 14. But when I saw that they walked not uprightly according to the truth of the gospel, I said unto Peter before *them* all, If thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner of Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?

(10) Most authorities place the quarrel between Paul and Peter during their sojourn at Antioch. So Lightfoot, Meyer, Alford. Hackett urges as an objection that it fails to account for Peter's sudden change of front on the question of Gentile liberty which he had but recently defended at the Jerusalem council. But

suddenness is a word that goes with Peter's character. The objection would be more weighty against any other disciple. This is the same Peter who could vow undying loyalty to his Lord, deny him, and repent, all in a few hours, who here forgets his boasted liberality and under the influence of the bigoted followers of James becomes a narrow Jew again for fear of "them which were of the circumcision." The impetuous, vacillating, blundering, cowardly Peter is rebuked face to face by the righteously indignant Paul, that when he is "converted," if he is not able to strengthen his brethren, he at least may not prove a hindrance to the cause of liberty.

Other commentators place the quarrel at Paul's earlier residence at Antioch (Acts 13 : 1-3). Hackett, Neander, Baumgarten, Lange, put it during the stay at Antioch (Acts 18 : 23). Lightfoot has an interesting note on "Patristic accounts of the Collision at Antioch," Galatians, note VI. Comp. Stalker, "Life of St. Paul," sec. 160; Schaff, "History of the Christian Church," I., pp. 352-360.

The time that Paul spent in Antioch can be only loosely calculated. "If Paul went to Jerusalem in the year 50," says Hackett, "the remainder of that year, added (if any one chooses) to the early part of the ensuing year, would suffice, probably, for the sojourn at Antioch indicated by *certain days* in Acts 15 : 36. ['And some days after, Paul said unto Barnabas, Let us go again and visit our brethren.'] It is impossible to be more definite than this."



The ++++ Lines show the Boundaries of Galatia as generally supposed, the route from

PART IV.

PAUL'S SECOND MISSIONARY JOURNEY.

TIME, 51-54 A. D. 3 YEARS.

I. ANTIOCH.

Paul and Barnabas separate.

SYRIA AND CILICIA.

Paul and Silas in Syria and Cilicia.

II. DERBE.

LYSTRA.

The circumcision of Timothy at Lystra. The Decrees delivered to the churches.

III. PHRYGIA AND GALATIA.

IV. MYSIA.

TROAS.

Paul's vision of the man from Macedonia. Luke joins Paul as a companion.

SAMOTHRACIA.

NEAPOLIS.

V. PHILIPPI. The first European church founded.

1. The arrival in the city.
 2. Paul's companions in Philippi: Euodias, Syntyche, Syzygus, Clement.
 3. The conversion of Lydia.
 4. The healing of the demoniac girl.
 5. Paul and Silas in prison.
 - (a) They are beaten and imprisoned.
 - (b) The earthquake. The conversion of the jailer.
 - (c) Paul and Silas are released and depart from Philippi.
- Luke remains.

VI. AMPHIPOLIS.APOLLONIA.THESSALONICA.

1. The account in the Acts.
Paul and Silas preach in the synagogue. Jason is brought before the magistrates.
2. The account in 1 Thessalonians, 2 Thessalonians and Philippians.
(a) Paul supports himself by work, the Philippians alone aiding him.
(b) Paul's fidelity in preaching.
(c) The faithfulness and charity of the Thessalonians.

VII. BERCEÆ.

1. Paul and Silas preach in the synagogue. Jews from Thessalonica oppose them.
2. Paul departs from Berceæ. Silas and Timothy remain. Timothy is sent later to Thessalonica.

VIII. ATHENS.

1. The arrival. Silas and Timothy sent for.
2. Paul disputes with the Jews and the Greek philosophers.
3. The address on Mars' Hill and its effect.

IX. CORINTH. "A year and six months."

1. Paul lives with Aquila and Priscilla.
2. Paul works as a tent-maker. The Philippians send him aid.
3. Silas and Timothy return from Macedonia. Paul writes 1 Thessalonians, 52 A. D., and 2 Thessalonians, 53 A. D.
4. The conversion of Crispus, Gaius and "the household of Stephanas."
5. Paul's vision.
6. Paul before Gallio.

X. CENCHREA.EPHESUS.CÆSAREA.JERUSALEM. Fourth visit.ANTIOCH.

PART IV.

Paul's Second Missionary Journey.⁽¹⁾

ACTS 15:36 TO 18:23.

I. PAUL AND BARNABAS SEPARATE. PAUL AND SILAS
IN SYRIA AND CILICIA.

ACTS 15:36-41.

15:36. And some days after, Paul said unto Barnabas, Let us go again and visit our brethren in every city where we have preached the word of the Lord, *and see* how they do. 37. And Barnabas determined to take with them John, whose surname was Mark.⁽²⁾ 38. But Paul thought not good to take him with them, who departed from them from Pamphylia, and went not with them to the work. 39. And the contention was so sharp between them, that they departed asunder one from the other: and so Barnabas took Mark, and sailed unto Cyprus; 40. And Paul chose Silas, and departed, being recommended by the brethren unto the grace of God. 41. And he went through Syria and Cilicia, confirming the churches.⁽³⁾

(1) For a general outline of this missionary journey see Stalker, secs. 89-108.

(2) John Mark last appeared in Acts 13:13.

(3) On the origin of the churches in Syria and Cilicia see Note on Acts 9:30, p. 29.

II. THE CIRCUMCISION OF TIMOTHY. THE DECREES
DELIVERED TO THE CHURCHES.

ACTS 16:1-5.

16:1. Then came he to Derbe and Lystra: and, behold, a certain disciple was there, named Timotheus,⁽⁴⁾ the son of a certain woman, which was a Jewess,⁽⁵⁾ and believed; but his father *was* a Greek: 2. Which was well reported of by the brethren that were at Lystra and Iconium. 3. Him would Paul have to go forth with him; and took and circumcised him⁽⁶⁾ because of the Jews which were in those quarters: for they knew all that his father was a Greek. 4. And as they went through the cities, they delivered them the decrees for to keep, that were ordained of the apostles and elders which were at Jerusalem. 5. And so were the churches established in the faith, and increased in number daily.

(4) Of all Paul's companions Timothy was his favorite. From the time of his conversion, probably during Paul's first visit to Lystra (Acts 14:6) he was intimately connected with the apostle's life. From time to time he disappears from

the narrative in Acts. The following table is that given by Alford (Vol. III., Proleg., p. 100) to show Timothy's connection with Paul's life. Alford's chronology varies but slightly from Hackett's.

A. D. 45.	Converted by St. Paul, during the first missionary journey, at Lystra. [Acts 14:6 seq.]
51. Autumn.	Taken to be St. Paul's companion and circumcised, Acts 16:1 seq. Sent from Berea to Thessalonica, Acts 17:14; 1 Thess. 3:2.
52. Winter.	With Silas, joins St. Paul at Corinth, Acts 18:5; 1 Thess. 3:6. With St. Paul, 1 Thess. 1:1; 2 Thess. 1:1.
57. Spring.	With St. Paul at Ephesus, Acts 19:22; sent thence into Macedonia and to Corinth, Acts 19:22; 1 Cor. 4:17; 16:10.
Winter.	With St. Paul, 2 Cor. 1:1.
58. Beginning. Spring.	With St. Paul, Rom. 16:21. Journeying with St. Paul from Corinth to Asia, Acts 20:4.
62 or 63.	With St. Paul in Rome, Col. 1:1; Philemon 1; Phil. 1:1.
63 to 66.	Uncertain.
66 or 67.	Left by St. Paul in charge of the church at Ephesus. (1 Timothy.)
67 or 68.	(2 Timothy.) Sets out to join St. Paul at Rome.
Afterwards	Uncertain.

(5) Among the other converts of Paul at Lystra were probably Timothy's grandmother, *Lois*, and his mother (16:1), *Eunice*, both of whom are mentioned in 2 Tim. 1:5: "When I call to remembrance the unfeigned faith that is in thee, which dwelt first in thy grandmother Lois, and thy mother Eunice; and I am persuaded that in thee also."

(6) Paul permits Timothy to be circumcised here, but in Gal. 2:3 forbids Titus to allow the rite to be performed. See Note, p. 54, for the difference in the circumstances.

III. IN PHRYGIA AND GALATIA.

ACTS 16:6.

16:6. Now when they had gone throughout Phrygia and the region of Galatia,(7) [and were forbidden of the Holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia.]

(7) From Gal. 4:19 it is evident that Paul was the founder of the churches in Galatia. To decide upon the time, however, is not easy. The traditional view is, that he organized the churches there during his second missionary journey, as mentioned here in Acts 16:6. This is made more plausible by Acts 18:23, where mention is made of the apostle's finding disciples there, the fruits, evidently, of a previous visit. (The only point for discussion is: is it possible to find a place in Paul's life *earlier* than the second missionary journey (Acts 16:6) when the Galatian churches may have been planted?) Ramsay's answer is, such a place can be found during Paul's first missionary journey. His view hinges on the meaning of the word Galatia. As usually understood it refers to the territory of that name situated in central Asia Minor. Ramsay contends that the word was used by St. Paul in the Roman sense, "to denote the parts of Phrygia, Lycaonia and Pisidia which were by the Romans incorporated in the vast province of Galatia" (p. 9). This, he says, was the use of the word in New Testament times. "It was lost because during the second century the term Galatia ceased to bear the sense which it had to a Roman in the first century. The whole of central and southern Lycaonia was, before the middle of the second century, separated from Galatia and formed into a province, Lycaonia, which was united with Isauria and Cilicia under the title of "the three Eparchies," and put under the command of a governor of the highest rank. From this time onwards the true sense of the term Galatia in St. Paul's time was lost" (p. 111).

But how are we to render Acts 16:6, "The region of Phrygia and Galatia" (R. V.)? The words for Phrygia and Galatia are adjectives, not nouns, and should be rendered "the country which is Phrygian and Galatic." This expresses Luke's comprehensive way of speaking of the region about Iconium and Antioch. That he may not be misunderstood he gives a double description of the country, according to the popular and the Roman official way of speaking of it: "The country which according to one way of speaking is Phrygian, but which is also Galatic." The same interpretation applies to Acts 18:23 (R. V.), where the words are the same, "the region of Galatia and Phrygia," the reversed order of the adjectives being "explained as merely accidental and due to the perfect indifference as to which should come first, the meaning being precisely the same in either case" (p. 90).

The effect of Ramsay's view is radical. It revolutionizes the whole subject of the Galatian churches. They emerge now from obscurity. It has always seemed strange that St. Paul, who cherished his first converts so dearly, never alludes in his epistles to the churches at Derbe, Lystra, etc., save in a passing reference to the sufferings he endured at Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra, 2 Tim. 3:11, and this is the more remarkable seeing that he visited Antioch in Pisidia, Iconium and Derbe at least twice, and Lystra at least three times. This is now made clear. Those churches are the *Galatian* churches, which he founded during his first missionary tour, and to which he wrote the Epistle to the Galatians. The visit, therefore, mentioned in Acts 16:6 is not his first to that region, but simply a return to the churches planted during his previous ministry there.

See Ramsay, "The Church in the Roman Empire before A. D. 170," espe-

cially pp. 8-13, 44, 64, 91, 111. The usual view of the origin of the Galatian churches is brilliantly defended by Lightfoot, on Galatians. If Ramsay's theory is rejected, Gal. 4:13-15, which I have placed with Acts 13:48, 49 (above, p. 43), should be made parallel with Acts 16:6. I am aware that a short note can not do justice to Ramsay's theory; the student should read the whole argument to gain its full force.

IV. IN TROAS. PAUL'S VISION. LUKE JOINS PAUL AS A COMPANION.

ACTS 16:6-11.

16:[6. Now when they had gone throughout Phrygia and the region of Galatia,] and were forbidden of the Holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia, 7. After they were come to Mysia, they assayed to go into Bithynia: but the Spirit suffered them not. 8. And they passing by Mysia came down to Troas. 9. And a vision appeared to Paul in the night; There stood a man of Macedonia, and prayed him, saying, Come over into Macedonia, and help us. 10. And after he had seen the vision,⁽⁸⁾ immediately we⁽⁹⁾ endeavored to go into Macedonia, assuredly gathering that the Lord had called us for to preach the gospel unto them. 11. Therefore loosing from Troas, we came with a straight course to Samothracia, and the next *day* to Neapolis;

(8) On Paul's visions, see note, p. 30, and Appendix III.

(9) Here (ver. 10), for the first time, the narrative changes from the third person singular to the first person plural, indicating that Luke, the author of the Acts, is included in the events in the history. What a mark this is of "the simplicity and reserve which distinguishes the sacred writers." Luke evidently joined Paul at Troas (Acts 16:10, 11), and went with him to Philippi (Acts 16:12). The narrative continues in the first person till Acts 16:40, and is resumed again in Acts 20:5, 6, when Luke is with the apostle at Philippi and leaves there with him for Troas. From that time till the end of the Acts Luke is with Paul. He is in Jerusalem with him (Acts 21:15), departs from Cæsarea with him for Rome (Acts 27:1), and arrives with him in Rome (Acts 28:16). For Luke's connection with Paul's later life, see on Col. 4:14 and on 2 Tim. 4:11.

Many reasons have been given to explain why Luke uses the first person plural in mentioning himself. Meyer thinks he did not enter into the details of his personal relations with Paul because Theophilus (Acts 1:1), to whom the book of Acts was dedicated, was familiar with these things. Some think Luke quotes another narrative in which the first person plural is used; but this only shifts the difficulty, as to quote another writer without indicating it is even less natural than in his own words to change the person of the narrative abruptly. Others think that Luke is not necessarily absent when he used the third person, and it is "a sort of inadvertence" that he at times shows his connection with the history. For a full list of the theories, see Meyer, Introduction, Acts, Sec. I. & Hobart, who has discussed the medical terms of St. Luke and given much attention to the fact that Luke was a physician, accounts for his presence with Paul from time to time by Paul's physical

weakness, which demanded medical treatment. } This is an interesting comment on
 "the beloved physician" who was so necessary a companion to the apostle. Com-
 pare Howson's "The Companions of St. Paul," chap. 3.

V. IN PHILIPPI. THE FIRST EUROPEAN CHURCH FOUNDED.

I. THE ARRIVAL IN THE CITY.

ACTS 16:12.

16:12. And from thence to Philippi, which is the chief city of that part of Macedonia, *and* a colony: and we were in that city abiding certain days.⁽¹⁰⁾

(10) "The apostle's first visit to Philippi is recorded with a minuteness which has not many parallels in St. Luke's history. The narrator had joined St. Paul shortly before he crossed over into Europe; he was with the apostle during his sojourn at Philippi; he seems to have remained there for some time after his departure. (The first person plural is dropped at Philippi, Acts 17:1, and resumed at the same place, Acts 20:5, after a lapse of six or seven years.) This exact personal knowledge of the writer, combining with the grandeur and variety of the incidents themselves, places the visit to Philippi among the most striking and instructive passages in the apostolic narrative. . . . Altogether, the history of St. Paul's connection with Philippi assumes a prominence quite out of proportion to the importance of the place itself. In the incidents and the results alike of his preaching the grandeur of the epoch is brought out. The persecutions which the apostle here endured were more than usually severe, and impressed themselves deeply on his memory, for he alludes to them once and again (1 Thess. 2:2; Phil. 1:30). The marvellous deliverance wrought for him is without a parallel in his history before or after. The signal success which crowned his labors surpasses all his earlier or later achievements. On this last-mentioned feature it is especially refreshing to dwell. The unwavering loyalty of his Philippian converts is the constant solace of the apostle in his manifold trials, the one bright ray of happiness piercing the dark clouds which gather ever thicker about the evening of his life. They are his 'joy and crown, his brethren beloved and eagerly desired' (Phil. 4:1). From them alone he consents to receive alms for the relief of his personal wants (Phil. 4:15). To them alone he writes in language unclouded by any shadow of displeasure or disappointment." Lightfoot, *Philippians*, Intro., pp. 53, 58.

On the city of Philippi and its history see Conybeare and Howson, Vol. I., pp. 288-294, and on "The Church of Philippi," see Lightfoot, Intro. *Philippians*, note III.

On the converts at Philippi see Stalker, sec. 99, Lightfoot, *Philippians*, pp. 53-58, and Conybeare and Howson, Vol. I., pp. 295-302.

2. PAUL'S COMPANIONS⁽¹¹⁾ IN PHILIPPI: EUODIAS, SYNTYCHE, SYZYGUS, CLEMENT.

PHIL. 4:2, 3.

4:2. I beseech Euodias, and beseech Syntyche, that they be of the same mind in the Lord. 3. And I entreat thee also, true yokefellow, help those women which labored with me in the gospel, with Clement also, and *with* other my fellow laborers, whose names *are* in the book of life.

(11) Paul's companions in Philippi were *Silas* (Acts 16:19), who left Antioch with him (Acts 15:40, p. 63), *Timothy*, who joined him at Lystra (Acts 16:1-3, p. 63), and *Luke*, who was added to the party at Troas (Acts 16:10, p. 66). It is not certain that the Christians who are mentioned in Phil 4:2, 3, were in the city on Paul's first visit, but I have placed them in the list, as Acts 16:12-40 is the only account of Paul's stay in Philippi which is given with any fulness. *Euodias* and *Syntyche* were ladies of rank, or perhaps deaconesses like Phœbe (Rom. 16:1). Later they had some disagreement, and were exhorted by the apostle to settle their differences and "be of the same mind in the Lord." "They may have belonged to the company of women," says Lightfoot, "to whom the gospel was first preached at Philippi, Acts 16:13." Paul labored to save woman, and "it seems probable that the apostle's work was made easier by the national feelings and usages of Macedonia. It may, I think, be gathered from St. Luke's narrative, that her social position was higher in this country than in most parts of the civilized world. At Philippi, at Thessalonica, at Berea, the women—in some cases certainly, in all probably, ladies of birth and rank—take an active part with the apostle (Acts 16:13; 17:4, 12). It forms, moreover, a striking coincidence, and surely an undesigned coincidence, between the history and the epistle, that while in the former the gospel is related to have been first preached to women, and the earliest converts specially mentioned are women, in the latter we find the peace of the Philippian church endangered by the feuds of two ladies of influence, whose zealous aid in the spread of the gospel the apostle gratefully acknowledges." Lightfoot, Intro. Philippians, pp. 55, 56.

Meyer says, "We can only find in yoke-fellow (*syzyge*) a *proper name*, in which case the attribute "true" corresponds in a delicate and winning way to the *appellative* sense of the name (comp. Philem. 11); *genuine Syzygus*, that is, thou who art in reality and substantially that which thy name expresses: '*fellow-in-yoke*,' i. e., *yoke-fellow*, fellow-laborer." "The view of Meyer with regard to the word 'yoke-fellow,'" says Dwight, "is adopted by Canon Farrar (Life of St. Paul) and considered favorably by Alford, who hesitates between it and that which supposes some fellow-laborer of the apostle (as Timothy or Epaphroditus) to be referred to. Conybeare and Howson say it is 'not without plausibility.' Grimm (Lex. N. T.), as Meyer states in his note, adopts it. So also Jatto. W. and H. place the word as a proper name in their margin. It is not improbably the correct view." Meyer on Philippians, Amer. edit., p. 188. On *Clement*, see p. 216.

3. THE CONVERSION OF LYDIA.

ACTS 16:13-15.

16:13. And on the sabbath we went out of the city by a river side, where prayer was wont to be made; and we sat down, and spake unto the women which resorted *thither*. **14.** And a certain woman named Lydia, a seller of purple, of the city of Thyatira, which worshipped God, heard *us*; whose heart the Lord opened, that she attended unto the things which were spoken of Paul. **15.** And when she was baptized, and her household, she besought *us*, saying, If ye have judged me to be faithful to the Lord, come into my house, and abide *there*. And she constrained us.

4. THE HEALING OF THE DEMONIAK GIRL.

ACTS 16:16-18.

16:16. And it came to pass, as we went to prayer, a certain damsel possessed with a spirit of divination met us, which brought her masters much gain by soothsaying: **17.** The same followed Paul and us, and cried, saying, These men are the servants of the most high God, which show unto us the way of salvation. **18.** And this did she many days. But Paul, being grieved, turned and said to the spirit, I command thee in the name of Jesus Christ to come out of her. And he came out the same hour.

5. PAUL AND SILAS IN PRISON.

(a) THEY ARE BEATEN AND IMPRISONED.

ACTS 16:19-24.

16:19. And when her masters saw that the hope of their gains was gone, they caught Paul and Silas, and drew *them* into the marketplace unto the rulers, **20.** And brought them to the magistrates, saying, These men, being Jews, do exceedingly trouble our city, **21.** And teach customs, which are not lawful for us to receive, neither to observe, being Romans. **22.** And the multitude rose up together against them; and the magistrates rent off their clothes, and commanded to beat *them*. **23.** And when they had laid many stripes upon them, they cast *them* into prison, charging the jailer to keep them safely: **24.** Who, having received such a charge, thrust them into the inner prison, and made their feet fast in the stocks.

1 THESS. 2:2.

2:2. But even after that we had suffered before, and were shamefully entreated, as ye know, at Philippi, we were bold in our God to speak unto you the gospel of God with much contention.⁽¹²⁾

PHIL. 1:30.

1:30. Having the same conflict which ye saw in me,

(12) Two allusions to Paul's sufferings in Philippi are found in the Epistles (1 Thess. 2:2; Phil. 1:30). In the latter passage he concludes his exhortation (Phil. 1:29), "For unto you it is given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake," by an illustration of his own suffering when he was in Philippi, which they saw in him.

(b) THE EARTHQUAKE. THE CONVERSION OF THE JAILER.

ACTS 16:25-34.

16:25. And at midnight Paul and Silas prayed, and sang praises unto God: and the prisoners heard them. 26. And suddenly there was a great earthquake, so that the foundations of the prison were shaken: and immediately all the doors were opened, and every one's bands were loosed. 27. And the keeper of the prison awaking out of his sleep, and seeing the prison doors open, he drew out his sword, and would have killed himself, supposing that the prisoners had been fled. 28. But Paul cried with a loud voice, saying, Do thyself no harm: for we are all here. 29. Then he called for a light, and sprang in, and came trembling, and fell down before Paul and Silas, 30. And brought them out, and said, Sirs, what must I do to be saved? 31. And they said, Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved, and thy house. 32. And they spake unto him the word of the Lord, and to all that were in his house. 33. And he took them the same hour of the night, and washed *their* stripes; and was baptized, he and all his, straightway. 34. And when he had brought them into his house, he set meat before them, and rejoiced, believing in God with all his house.

(c) PAUL AND SILAS ARE RELEASED, AND DEPART FOR PHILIPPI. LUKE REMAINS.

ACTS 16:35-40.

16:35. And when it was day, the magistrates sent the serjeants, saying, Let those men go. 36. And the keeper of the prison told this saying to Paul, The magistrates have sent to let you go: now therefore depart, and go in peace. 37. But Paul said unto them, They have beaten us openly uncondemned, being Romans, and have cast *us* into prison; and now do they thrust us out privily? nay verily; but let them come themselves and fetch us out. 38. And the serjeants told these words unto the magistrates: and they feared, when they heard that they were Romans. 39. And they came and besought them, and brought *them* out, and desired *them* to depart out of the city. 40. And they went out of the prison, and entered into *the house of* Lydia: and when they had seen the brethren, they comforted them, and departed. (13)

(13) "*They went forth* (v. 40). The narrator, it will be seen, proceeds now in the third person, and maintains that style as far as 20:5. Some have inferred from this that Luke remained at Philippi until Paul's last visit to Macedonia. We find Timothy with the apostle at Berea (Acts 17:14), but whether he accompanied him at this time or rejoined him afterward cannot be decided." Hackett.

After leaving Philippi, according to the Acts, Paul was twice in Macedonia: Acts 20:1 and 20:3. In the visit mentioned in Acts 20:1 he may have gone to Philippi, as it was so prominent a city, but Luke does not mention it. The second time he was in Macedonia he did stop at Philippi, Acts 20:3, 6, but it was only for a short time, on his way to Troas. The Philippians did not forget

Paul when he left them. During his second missionary journey, they sent him supplies when he was in Thessalonica, Phil. 4:16 (p. 71), and in Corinth, Phil. 4:15 (p. 78), and about ten years later they sent him aid by Epaphroditus during Paul's first Roman captivity, which latter expression of their generosity occasioned the writing of the Epistle to the Philippians. According to 1 Tim. 1:3, Paul went to Macedonia between the first and second Roman captivities, at which time the church at Philippi may have received a visit from him. See also Paul's "conjectural visit" to Philippi, Phil. 1:26. For a full expression of Paul's love to this church see the selections from Philippians, Part IX., sec. III., 6.

VI. PAUL IN THESSALONICA.

I. THE ACCOUNT IN THE ACTS.

PAUL AND SILAS PREACH IN THE SYNAGOGUE. JASON IS BROUGHT BEFORE THE
MAGISTRATES.

ACTS 17:1-9.

17:1. Now when they had passed through Amphipolis and Apollonia, they came to Thessalonica, where was a synagogue of the Jews: 2. And Paul, as his manner was, went in unto them, and three sabbath days reasoned with them out of the Scriptures, 3. Opening and alleging, that Christ must needs have suffered, and risen again from the dead; and that this Jesus, whom I preach unto you, is Christ. 4. And some of them believed, and consorted with Paul and Silas; and of the devout Greeks a great multitude, and of the chief women not a few. 5. But the Jews which believed not, moved with envy, took unto them certain lewd fellows of the baser sort, and gathered a company, and set all the city on an uproar, and assaulted the house of Jason, and sought to bring them out to the people. 6. And when they found them not, they drew Jason and certain brethren unto the rulers of the city, crying, These that have turned the world upside down are come hither also; 7. Whom Jason (14) hath received: and these all do contrary to the decrees of Cæsar, saying that there is another king, *one* Jesus. 8. And they troubled the people and the rulers of the city, when they heard these things. 9. And when they had taken security of Jason, and of the others, they let them go.

(The narrative in the Acts continues on p. 74).

(14) Jason (v. 7) was Paul's host. Perhaps he is the same one mentioned in Rom. 16:21 as one of his "kinsmen."

Whether Timothy was with Paul and Silas in Thessalonica can not be decided. He next appears at Berea, Acts 17:14. (See note, p. 74).

2. THE ACCOUNT IN 1 THESSALONIANS, 2 THESSALONIANS AND PHILIPPIANS.

(a) PAUL SUPPORTS HIMSELF BY WORK, THE PHILIPPIANS ALONE AIDING HIM.

1 THESS. 2:9.

2 THESS. 3:6-10.

PHIL. 4:16.

2:9. For ye remember,	3:6. Now we command	4:16. For even in Thessa-
brethren, our labor and tra-	you, brethren, in the name	lonica ye sent once and
vail: for laboring night and	of our Lord Jesus Christ, that	again unto my necessity.

1 THESS. 2.

day, because we would not be chargeable unto any one of you, we preached unto you the gospel of God.(15).

2 THESS. 3.

ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the tradition which he received of us. 7. For yourselves know how ye ought to follow us: for we behaved not ourselves disorderly among you; 8. Neither did we eat any man's bread for nought; but wrought with labor and travail night and day, that we might not be chargeable to any of you:(16) 9. Not because we have not power, but to make ourselves an ensample unto you to follow us. 10. For even when we were with you, this we commanded you, that if any would not work, neither should he eat.

PHIL.

(15) The selections from the Epistles to the Thessalonians, written while Paul was in Corinth (p. 79) and the single passage, Phil. 4 : 16, fill out the picture which Luke gives of the Apostle's life in Thessalonica. No record is given of Paul's ever revisiting the city, but perhaps on his second and third visits to Macedonia, Acts 20 : 1 and 3, he may have gone there, as also during his journey through Macedonia after the first captivity, 1 Tim. 1 : 3.

(16) While Paul was in Thessalonica he supported himself by manual labor, which was a common practice with him. He was very sensitive about receiving any help from his friends, but he made an exception of the Philippian church, from which he received occasional help here (Phil. 4 : 16) and later in Corinth (note p. 79).

(b) PAUL'S FIDELITY IN PREACHING.

1 THESS. 1 : 9-10; 2 : 1-12.

1 : 9. For they themselves show of us what manner of entering in we had unto you, and how ye turned to God from idols to serve the living and true God; 10. And to wait for his Son from heaven, whom he raised from the dead, *even* Jesus, which delivered us from the wrath to come.

2 : 1. For yourselves, brethren, know our entrance in unto you, that it was not in vain: 2. But even after that we had suffered before, and were shamefully entreated, as ye know, at Philippi, we were bold in our God to speak unto you the gospel of God with much contention. 3. For our exhortation *was* not of deceit, nor of uncleanness, nor in guile: 4. But as we were allowed of God to be put in trust with the gospel, even so we speak; not as pleasing men, but God, which trieth our hearts. 5. For neither at any time used we flattering words, as ye know, nor a cloak of covetousness; God *is* witness: 6. Nor of men sought we glory, neither of you, nor *yet* of others, when we might have been burdensome, as the apostles of Christ. 7. But we were gentle among you,

I THESS. 2.

even as a nurse cherisheth her children: 8. So being affectionately desirous of you, we were willing to have imparted unto you, not the gospel of God only, but also our own souls, because ye were dear unto us. 9. For ye remember, brethren, our labor and travail: for laboring night and day, because we would not be chargeable unto any of you, we preached unto you the gospel of God. 10. Ye *are* witnesses, and God *also*, how holily and justly and unblameably we behaved ourselves among you that believe: 11. As ye know how we exhorted and comforted and charged every one of you, as a father *doth* his children, 12. That ye would walk worthy of God, who hath called you unto his kingdom and glory.

(C) THE FAITHFULNESS AND CHARITY OF THE THESSALONIANS. (17)

I THESS. I: 1-8; 2: 13-16; 4: 9, 10.

I: 1. Paul, and Silvanus, and Timotheus, unto the church of the Thessalonians *which is* in God the Father, and *in* the Lord Jesus Christ: Grace *be* unto you, and peace, from God our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ. 2. We give thanks to God always for you all, making mention of you in our prayers; 3. Remembering without ceasing your work of faith, and labor of love, and patience of hope in our Lord Jesus Christ, in the sight of God and our Father; 4. Knowing, brethren beloved, your election of God. 5. For our gospel came not unto you in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance; as ye know what manner of men we were among you for your sake. 6. And ye became followers of us, and of the Lord, having received the word in much affliction, with joy of the Holy Ghost: 7. So that ye were ensamples to all that believe in Macedonia and Achaia. 8. For from you sounded out the word of the Lord not only in Macedonia and Achaia, but also in every place your faith to God-ward is spread abroad; so that we need not to speak any thing.

2: 13. For this cause also thank we God without ceasing, because, when ye received the word of God which ye heard of us, ye received *it* not *as* the word of men, but, as it is in truth, the word of God, which effectually worketh also in you that believe. 14. For ye, brethren, became followers of the churches of God which in Judea are in Christ Jesus: for ye also have suffered like things of your own countrymen, even as they *have* of the Jews: 15. Who both killed the Lord Jesus, and their own prophets, and have persecuted us; and they please not God, and are contrary to all men: 16. Forbidding us to speak to the Gentiles that they might be saved, to fill up their sins always: for the wrath is come upon them to the uttermost.

4: 9. But as touching brotherly love ye need not that I write unto you: for ye yourselves are taught of God to love one another. 10. And indeed ye do it toward all the brethren which are in all Macedonia: but we beseech you, brethren, that ye increase more and more:

(17) To the selections given from I Thessalonians should be added the passages in which Paul expresses his love for the disciples at Thessalonica. See I Thess. 3: 7-13; 2 Thess. 1: 2-7, 11, 12; 2: 13-17; 3: 1-5.

"Paul and Silas had spent three or four weeks at least in Thessalonica, and very possibly some time longer. Wieseler proposes six or eight weeks as the term of their residence in that city. Being obliged to leave so hastily, Paul was anxious for the welfare and stability of the recent converts, and departed with the intention of returning as soon as the present exasperation against him should be allayed so as to justify it (I Thess. 2: 18). Subsequent events frustrated this purpose, and under that disappointment he sent Timothy to them to supply his place (I Thess. 3: 2)." Hackett.

VII. IN BERCEA.

1. PAUL AND SILAS PREACH IN THE SYNAGOGUE. JEWS FROM THESSALONICA OPPOSE THEM.

ACTS 17: 10-13.

17:10. And the brethren immediately sent away Paul and Silas by night unto Berea: who coming *thither* went into the synagogue of the Jews. 11. These were more noble than those in Thessalonica, in that they received the word with all readiness of mind, and searched the Scriptures daily, whether those things were so. 12. Therefore many of them believed; also of honorable women which were Greeks, and of men, not a few. 13. But when the Jews of Thessalonica had knowledge that the word of God was preached of Paul at Berea, they came thither also, and stirred up the people.

2. PAUL DEPARTS FROM BERCEA. SILAS AND TIMOTHY REMAIN. TIMOTHY IS SENT LATER TO THESSALONICA.

ACTS 17: 14.

17:14. And then immediately the brethren sent away Paul to go as it were to the sea: but Silas and Timotheus abode there still. (18)

I THESS. 2: 17-20; 3: 1-5.

2:17. But we, brethren, being taken from you for a short time in presence, not in heart, endeavored the more abundantly to see your face with great desire. 18 Wherefore we would have come unto you, even I Paul, once and again; but Satan hindered us. 19. For what *is* our hope, or joy, or crown of rejoicing? *Are* not even ye in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ at his coming? 20. For ye are our glory and joy.

3:[1. Wherefore when we could no longer forbear, we thought it good to be left at Athens alone;] 2. And sent Timotheus, our brother, and minister of God, and our fellow-laborer in the gospel of Christ, to establish you, and to comfort you concerning your faith: 3. That no man should be moved by these afflictions: for you yourselves know that we are appointed thereunto. 4. For verily, when we were with you, we told you before that we should suffer tribulation; even as it came to pass, and ye know. 5. For this cause, when I could no longer forbear, I sent to know your faith, lest by some means the tempter have tempted you, and our labor be in vain.

(18) Timothy had been with Paul in Philippi (see note 13, p. 70), but whether he went with him to Thessalonica (Acts 17: 1) or joined him at Berea cannot be determined. For Paul's purpose in now sending Timothy to Thessalonica see note 19, p. 75.

VIII. PAUL IN ATHENS.

I. THE ARRIVAL. SILAS AND TIMOTHY SENT FOR.

ACTS 17:15.

17:15. And they that conducted Paul brought him unto Athens: and receiving a commandment unto Silas and Timotheus for to come to him with all speed, they departed.

1 THESS. 3:1, 2.

3:1. Wherefore when we could no longer forbear, we thought it good to be left at Athens alone;⁽¹⁹⁾ [2. And sent Timotheus, our brother, and minister of God, and our fellow-laborer in the gospel of Christ, to establish you, and to comfort you concerning your faith:]

(19) 1. Some writers put the visit of Timothy into Macedonia (1 Thess. 3:2) with Acts 17:16, and his departure on that journey, therefore, took place not from Berea (sec. 2, p. 74), but from Athens. Hackett thinks it natural from 1 Thess. 3:1 that Timothy arrived in Athens as Paul desired and was at once sent to Thessalonica (Macedonia). As Silas is not mentioned in 1 Thess. 3:1, 2 it is inferred that he failed to reach Athens, or, coming there, was sent upon a different errand from Timothy, which would account for the omission of his name in the epistle to the Thessalonians (3:2). Meyer also favors the idea that Timothy was sent from Athens. Plumptre places Timothy's arrival at Athens after the speech on Mars' Hill.

2. Gloag and Alford hold the better view, that Timothy was sent to Macedonia from Berea. According to 1 Thess. 2:17-20, Paul was prevented from revisiting Thessalonica after leaving it (Acts 17:9, p. 71), and to make amends for this he sent Timothy from Berea to exhort and confirm the Macedonians, and decided himself to remain later alone in Athens (1 Thess. 3:1). Silas remained in Berea to carry on the work there. On Paul's arrival at Athens he sent back word, by those who came from Berea with him, to tell Timothy and Silas to come to him at once (Acts 17:15). No mention is made of their coming to Athens, and we do not hear of them until Acts 18:5 (p. 79), when they joined Paul in Corinth, coming from Macedonia. This seems the more natural interpretation, as it gives time for Timothy to go to Thessalonica (1 Thess. 3:2) and return to Berea to labor there with Silas, thus making the Thessalonian visit an episode in the ministry at Berea. The contradiction which Meyer sees here between the Acts and the Epistle is due to his inference that the departure of Timothy for Thessalonica took place from Athens. See Meyer (Acts, Amer. edit., p. 341); Alford; Conybeare and Howson (Vol. I., p. 407, note).

2. PAUL DISPUTES WITH THE JEWS AND THE GREEK PHILOSOPHERS.

ACTS 17:16-21.

17:16. Now while Paul waited for them at Athens, his spirit was stirred in him, when he saw the city wholly given to idolatry. 17. Therefore disputed he in the syna-

ACTS 17.

gogue with the Jews, and with the devout persons, and in the market daily with them that met with him. 18. Then certain philosophers of the Epicureans, and of the Stoics, encountered him. And some said, What will this babbler say? other some, He seemeth to be a setter forth of strange gods: because he preached unto them Jesus, and the resurrection. 19. And they took him, and brought him unto Areopagus, saying, May we know what this new doctrine, whereof thou speakest, *is*? 20. For thou bringest certain strange things to our ears: we would know therefore what these things mean. 21. (For all the Athenians, and strangers which were there, spent their time in nothing else, but either to tell or to hear some new thing.)

3. THE ADDRESS ON MARS' HILL AND ITS EFFECT.

ACTS 17: 22-34.

17:22. Then Paul stood in the midst of Mars' hill, and said, *Ye* men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious. 23. For as I passed by, and beheld your devotions, I found an altar with this inscription, TO THE UNKNOWN GOD. Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you. 24. God that made the world and all things therein, seeing that he is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands; 25. Neither is worshipped with men's hands, as though he needed any thing, seeing he giveth to all life, and breath, and all things; 26. And hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation; 27. That they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him, and find him, though he be not far from every one of us: 28. For in him we live, and move, and have our being; as certain also of your own poets have said, For we are also his offspring. 29. Forasmuch then as we are the offspring of God, we ought not to think that the God-head is like unto gold, or silver, or stone, graven by art and man's device. 30. And the times of this ignorance God winked at; but now commandeth all men every where to repent: 31. Because he hath appointed a day, in the which he will judge the world in righteousness by *that* man whom he hath ordained; *whereof* he hath given assurance unto all *men*, in that he hath raised him from the dead. 32. And when they heard of the resurrection of the dead, some mocked: and others said, We will hear thee again of this *matter*. 33. So Paul departed from among them. 34. Howbeit certain men clave unto him, and believed: among the which *was* Dionysius the Areopagite, and a woman named Damaris, and others with them.(20)

(20) For the historical and architectural allusions suggested by Paul's stay in Athens see Conybeare and Howson (chap. 10); Farrar (Vol. I., pp. 521-552); Lewin (Vol. I., pp. 240-268); and Hackett.

"Paul left Athens," says Farrar, "a despised and lonely man. And yet his visit was not in vain. . . . He founded no church at Athens, but there—it may be under the fostering charge of the converted Areopagite—a church grew up. In the next century it furnished to the cause of Christianity its martyr bishops and its eloquent apologists (Publius, Quadratus, Aristides, Athenagoras). In the third century it flourished in peace and purity. In the fourth century it was represented at Nicæa, and the noble rhetoric of the two great Christian friends, St. Basil and St. Gregory of Nazianzus, was trained in its Christian schools. Nor were many centuries to elapse ere, unable to confront the pierced hands which held a wooden cross, its myriads of deities had fled into the dimness of outworn creeds, and its

tutulary goddess, in spite of the flashing eyes which Homer had commemorated, and the mighty spear which had been moulded out of the trophies of Marathon, resigned her maiden chamber to the honor of that meek Galilæan maiden who had lived under the roof of the carpenter at Nazareth—the virgin mother of the Lord.’ Yet Athens was one of the last cities in the Roman Empire which abandoned idolatry, and it never took a prominent position in church history. Its religion was the worship of ancient Greek genius rather than that of Christ. ‘*Il est bien moins disciple de Jésus et de saint Paul que de Plutarque et de Julien.*’ says Renan, St. Paul, p. 208. His chapter on Paul in Athens is very interesting.” Schaff’s “History of the Christian Church,” Vol. I., p. 325.

IX. PAUL IN CORINTH.

Time, “A year and six months.”

I. PAUL LIVES WITH AQUILA AND PRISCILLA.

ACTS 18:1, 2.

18:1. After these things Paul departed from Athens, and came to Corinth: 2. And found a certain Jew named Aquila, born in Pontus, lately come from Italy, with his wife Priscilla, (because that Claudius had commanded all Jews to depart from Rome,) and came unto them.(21)

(21) “*Aquila* and *Priscilla*, or *Prisca* (Rom. 16:3 R. V.) were Roman names, and it was common for Jews to assume such names when they lived out of Palestine. That Aquila was born in Pontus harmonizes with Acts 2:9 and 1 Pet. 1:1, for we see from those passages that Jews resided in that country. As we have no account of his conversion at Corinth, the probability is that Aquila embraced the gospel at Rome. So Hensen, Olshausen, Neander, Wieseler and others conclude. Some allege a *certain Jew* as proof that he was still unconverted (Meyer, De Wette); but he is introduced in that manner on account of what follows. The notice apprises us that he was one of the *all Jews* whom the decree banished. At this early period no distinction would be made between Jews and Jewish Christians. Aquila accompanied Paul to Ephesus (vers. 18, 26), and was still there when the apostle wrote the First Epistle to the Corinthians (1 Cor. 16:19). We find him at Rome again when Paul wrote [from Corinth] the Epistle to the Romans (Rom. 16:3 seq.), and at a still later period at Ephesus a second time (2 Tim. 4:19). The nature of his business (Acts 18:3) led him frequently to change the place of his residence.” Hackett.

2. PAUL WORKS AS A TENT-MAKER. THE PHILIPPIANS SEND HIM AID.

ACTS 18:3.	1 COR. 9:6-15.	2 COR. 11:6-10.	PHIL. 4:15.
18:3. And because he was of the same craft, (22) he abode	9:6. Or I only and Barnabas, have not we power to forbear	11:6. But though I be rude in speech, yet not in knowl-	4:15. Now ye Philippians know also, that in the beginning

ACTS 18.	I COR. 9.	2 COR. 11.	PHIL. 4.
with them, and wrought: (for by their occupation they were tentmakers.)	working? 7. Who goeth a warfare any time at his own charges? who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof? or who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk of the flock? 8. Say I these things as a man? or saith not the law the same also? 9. For it is written in the law of Moses, Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn. Doth God take care for oxen? 10. Or saith he <i>it</i> altogether for our sakes? For our sakes, no doubt, <i>this</i> is written: that he that plougheth should plough in hope; and that he that thresheth in hope should be partaker of his hope. 11. If we have sown unto you spiritual things, <i>is it</i> a great thing if we shall reap your carnal things? 12. If others be partakers of <i>this</i> power over you, <i>are</i> not we rather? Nevertheless we have not used this power; but suffer all things, lest we should hinder the gospel of Christ. 13. Do ye not know that they which minister about holy things live <i>of the things</i> of the temple? and they which wait at the altar are partakers with the altar? 14. Even so hath the Lord ordained that	edge; but we have been thoroughly made manifest among you in all things. 7. Have I committed an offence in abasing myself that ye might be exalted, because I have preached to you the gospel of God freely? 8. I robbed other churches, taking wages <i>of them</i> , to do you service. 9. And when I was present with you, and wanted, I was chargeable to no man: for that which was lacking to me the brethren which came from Macedonia supplied: and in all <i>things</i> I have kept myself from being burdensome unto you, and <i>so</i> will I keep <i>myself</i> . 10. As the truth of Christ is in me, no man shall stop me of this boasting in the regions of Achaia.	of the gospel, when I departed from Macedonia, no church communicated with me as concerning giving and receiving, but ye only.

ACTS.	1 Cor. 9.	2 COR.	PHIL.
	they which preach the gospel should live of the gospel. 15. But I have used none of these things: neither have I written these things, that it should be so done unto me: for <i>it were</i> better for me to die, than that any man should make my glorying void.		

(22) "The Jews, more especially after the exile," says Hackett, "held the mechanic arts in high estimation. It was a proverb among them that the father who neglected to bring up his son to a trade taught him to be a thief . . . Tent-making was a common trade in Cilicia, the native country of the apostle. A coarse species of goat's hair, called *cilicium*, was produced there in great abundance, and was much used for that purpose. A person accustomed to work on that material could work, doubtless, on any other. Paul had acquired the trade, in all probability, during his boyhood, while he lived at Tarsus."

At Corinth as at Thessalonica (p. 71) Paul made one exception in his independence of others in the matter of support. Those from Macedonia (2 Cor. 11:9) who came to him with an offer of help were the Philippians, Phil. 4:15. Their generous proffer of assistance the apostle did not refuse.

The relation of the quotations from Corinthians to Acts 18:1-3 is discussed in Appendix VI.

3. SILAS AND TIMOTHY RETURN FROM MACEDONIA. PAUL WRITES 1 THESSALONIANS, 52 A. D., AND 2 THESSALONIANS, 53 A. D.

ACTS 18:4, 5.	1 THESS. I:1; 3:6.	2 THESS. I:1.	2 COR. I:19.
18:4. And he reasoned in the synagogue every sabbath, and persuaded the Jews and the Greeks. 5. And when Silas and Timotheus (23) were come from Macedonia, [Paul was pressed in the spirit, and testified to the Jews <i>that Jesus was Christ.</i>]	I:1. Paul, and Silvanus, and Timotheus, unto the church of the Thessalonians <i>which is</i> in God the Father, and <i>in</i> the Lord Jesus Christ:(24) 3:6. But now when Timotheus came from you unto us, and brought us good tidings of your faith and charity, and that ye have good remembrance of us always, desiring greatly to see us, as we also <i>to see you:</i>	I:1. Paul, and Silvanus, and Timotheus, unto the church of the Thessalonians in God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ:(25)	I:19. For the Son of God, Jesus Christ, who was preached among you by us, <i>even</i> by me and Silvanus and Timotheus, was not yea and nay, but in him was yea.

(23) As seen in note 19, p. 75, Paul left Timothy and Silas (Silvanus) in Beroëa. From Athens he sent word for them to join him, but they did not come till he arrived in Corinth (Acts 18:5). This is the last mention of Silas in the Book of Acts. Perhaps he went with Paul to Jerusalem, Acts 18:22, and after that his labors with the apostle ceased.

(24) While in Corinth Paul wrote 1 Thessalonians and 2 Thessalonians.

That Paul wrote 1 Thessalonians from Corinth, says Hackett, is seen "from several circumstances; first, Paul had been separated from the Thessalonians but 'a short time,' 1 Thess. 2:17; secondly, Timothy and Silas were with him, 1 Thess. 1:1, as they were according to Luke, Acts 18:5; thirdly, the apostles had been lately at Athens, 1 Thess. 3:1, and whence, also, according to our narrative, Acts 18:1, he came directly to Corinth; and finally, he writes to the Thessalonians as recent converts whose knowledge was very imperfect." Paul had been unable to return to Thessalonica after leaving there (p. 71), and had sent Timothy, 1 Thess. 3:2 seq. (p. 74), who had now returned, Acts 18:5; 1 Thess. 3:6. The message which he brought was the occasion of the First Epistle. For an introduction to 1 Thessalonians, see Appendix IV. The date for the epistle would therefore be 52 or 53 A. D. (Hackett), 52 (Conybeare and Howson, Alford), 53 (Lünemann). This gives the Thessalonians the honor of being the first church to receive a letter from the apostle Paul.

(25) "The following reasons," says Lünemann, "prove that the Second Epistle was composed not long after the sending away of the First. Silas and Timotheus are still in the company of the apostle, 2 Thess. 1:1; but the Acts of the Apostles, at least, never inform us that after Paul left Corinth, Acts 18:18, these two apostolic assistants were again *together* with him. We find Timotheus again in the apostle's company, first at Ephesus, Acts 19:22, whilst there is no further mention of Silas in the Acts of the Apostles after his Corinthian residence. Besides, the relations and wants of the church are throughout analogous to those which are presupposed in the First Epistle. The same circle of thought occupies the apostle; similar instructions, similar praises, similar exhortations, warnings and wishes are found throughout in both epistles. It is accordingly to be assumed that also the Second Epistle was composed during *the first residence of the apostle at Corinth*, but, according to 2 Thess. 3:2, at a time when he had already suffered hostility on the part of the Jews, and, according to 2 Thess. 1:4 'the churches' (comp. 1 Cor. 1:2; 2 Cor. 2:1; Rom. 16:1) when branch churches had already been founded from Corinth." The date of the epistle, therefore, is 53 A. D. (Alford, Conybeare and Howson), or 54 (Lünemann). The circumstances which caused Paul to write the Second Epistle were similar to those which occasioned the First Epistle. The same questions were being asked though different in form. The real "object of the Second Epistle," says Hackett, "was to correct a wrong impression made by the First. Comp. 2 Thess. 2:1 seq. with 1 Thess. 4:16 seq. and 5:1 seq."

For an introduction to 2 Thessalonians, see Appendix V.

4. THE CONVERSION OF CRISPUS, GAIUS, AND "THE HOUSEHOLD OF STEPHANAS."

ACTS 18:5-8.

18:[5. And when Silas and Timotheus were come from Macedonia,] Paul was pressed in the spirit, and testified to the Jews *that Jesus was Christ.*(26) 6. And when they opposed themselves, and blasphemed, he shook *his* raiment, and said unto them, Your blood *be* upon your own heads; *I am* clean: from henceforth I will go unto the Gentiles. 7. And he departed thence, and entered into a certain *man's* house, named Justus, *one* that worshipped God, whose house joined hard to the synagogue.(27) 8. And Crispus, the chief ruler of the synagogue, believed on the Lord with all his house; and many of the Corinthians hearing believed, and were baptized.

1 COR. 1:14-16; 16:15.

1:14. I thank God that I baptized none of you, but Crispus and Gaius; 15. Lest any should say that I had baptized in mine own name. 16. And I baptized also the household of Stephanas: besides, I know not whether I baptized any other.(28) 16:15. I beseech you, brethren, (ye know the house of Stephanas, that it is the first-fruits of Achaia, and *that* they have addicted themselves to the ministry of the saints.)

(26) The R. V. translates v. 5, "But when Silas and Timothy came down from Macedonia, Paul was constrained by the word."

(27) "*Having departed from there* (v. 7)—*i. e.*, the synagogue (see v. 4), not from the city or from the house of Aquila—*went into the house of a certain Justus*. The meaning is, not that he left Aquila and went to lodge with Justus (Alford) but that he preached in future at the house of the latter, which was so much the more convenient because it was near the synagogue where they had been accustomed to assemble. Paul pursued precisely the same course at Ephesus. (Acts 19:9.) *Worshipping God* describes Justus as a foreigner who had embraced Judaism, but was not yet a believer. He opened his house for the use of the Christians, because he had more sympathy with them than with the Jews. His moral position was certainly unique, and it is easy to believe that he soon exchanged it for that of a believer." Hackett. Col. 4:11 refers to another person.

(28) In 1 Cor. 1:14, 16; 16:15, Paul mentions two others among his early converts besides *Crispus* (the president of the synagogue). On *Gaius* see note on Rom. 16:23. "The house of *Stephanas*, in 1 Cor. 16:15, must be the same as that mentioned in 1 Cor. 1:16, where it appears that they were not only the earliest converts of St. Paul at Corinth, but amongst the few who were baptized with his own hands." Stanley.

5. PAUL'S VISION.

ACTS 18:9-11.

18:9. Then spake the Lord to Paul in the night by a vision, Be not afraid, but speak, and hold not thy peace: 10. For I am with thee, and no man shall set on thee to hurt thee: for I have much people in this city. 11. And he continued *there* a year and six months, teaching the word of God among them.⁽²⁹⁾

(29) "*And he abode a year and six months.* It has been questioned whether this designation of time extends merely to the arrest mentioned in v. 12 (Meyer) or embraces the entire sojourn at Corinth. 'I regard the latter view,' says Wieseler (*Chronologie* p. 46), 'as undoubtedly the correct one. . . . The main thought of the words which the Lord addresses to Paul in the vision (vv. 9, 10) is unquestionably 'Speak in this city, and be not silent,' and accordingly the period of time, in v. 11, during which the apostle obeys this command of Christ, must refer to the *whole* time in which he had spoken at Corinth and was not silent—*i. e.*, must include the time until his departure. In the second place, this follows from the general nature of the statement: 'He abode there a year and six months.' (Comp. Luke 24:49.)" Hackett.

On Paul's visions see note 18, p. 28.

6. PAUL BEFORE GALLIO.

ACTS 18:12-18.

18:12. And when Gallio was the deputy of Achaia, the Jews made insurrection with one accord against Paul, and brought him to the judgment seat, 13. Saying, This fellow persuadeth men to worship God contrary to the law. 14. And when Paul was now about to open *his* mouth, Gallio said unto the Jews, If it were a matter of wrong or wicked lewdness, O ye Jews, reason would that I should bear with you: 15. But if it be a question of words and names, and of your law, look ye to it; for I will be no judge of such matters. 16. And he drave them from the judgment seat. 17. Then all the Greeks took Sosthenes, the chief ruler of the synagogue, and beat *him* before the judgment seat. And Gallio cared for none of those things.⁽³⁰⁾ 18. And Paul *after this* tarried *there*⁽³¹⁾ yet a good while, [and then took his leave of the brethren, and sailed thence into Syria, and with him Priscilla and Aquila; having shorn *his* head in Cenchrea: for he had a vow.]

(30) "*Sosthenes* was probably the successor of Crispus (v. 8), or, as Biscoe conjectures, may have belonged to another synagogue in the city. He appears to have taken an active part in the prosecution; and hence the Greeks, who were always ready to manifest their hatred of the Jews, singled him out as the object of their special resentment. In winking at this, says De Wette, Gallio may have carried his impartiality too far. If he was the Sosthenes who is called 'the brother' in 1 Cor. 1:1, he must have been converted after this, and have removed to Ephesus. The coincidence in the name is the only reason for supposing the same person to be meant in both places." Hackett. See note 13, p. 99. On the character of *Gallio* see Farrar, Vol. I., pp. 566-573.

(31) "Having tarried after this yet many days." (R. V.) This was after the

arrest. "Whether the arrest," says Hackett, "took place at the end of the year and a half mentioned in v. 11, or in the course of that time, is subject, as we have seen, to some doubt. Even if the arrest was subsequent to the year and six months, the *many days* here need not be supposed to extend the sojourn at Corinth beyond a few additional months (Wieseler). During this period the apostle planted churches in other parts of Achaia, either by his own personal labors or by the instrumentality of his converts. See 2 Cor. 1:1."

X. FROM CORINTH (CENCHREA) TO EPHESUS, CÆSAREA, JERUSALEM (4TH VISIT), AND ANTIOCH.

ACTS 18:18-23.

18:[18. And Paul *after this* tarried *there* yet a good while,] and then took his leave of the brethren, and sailed thence into Syria, and with him Priscilla and Aquila; having shorn his head in Cenchrea: for he had a vow,⁽³²⁾ 19. And he came to Ephesus, and left them there: but he himself entered into the synagogue, and reasoned with the Jews.⁽³³⁾ 20. When they desired *him* to tarry longer time with them, he consented not; 21. But bade them farewell, saying, I must by all means keep this feast that cometh in Jerusalem: but I will return again unto you, if God will. And he sailed from Ephesus.⁽³⁴⁾ 22. And when he had landed at Cesarea and gone⁽³⁵⁾ up, and saluted the church, he went down to Antioch.⁽³⁶⁾ 23. And after he had spent some time *there*, [he departed, and went over *all* the country of Galatia and Phrygia in order, strengthening all the disciples.]

(32) "*Having shorn the head* most critics understand of Paul (Chrysostom, Calvin, Neander, Olshausen, Hensen, De Wette, Winer, Wordsworth); some of Aquila (Grotius, Kuinoel, Wieseler, Meyer). *Paul* is the leading subject and the reader connects the remark spontaneously with him. . . . *For he had a vow*—i. e., one resting upon him; not assumed at this time. This clause states why he shaved his head. The cutting off of the hair was a Jewish practice, and took place at the expiration of a vow, not at the commencement of it. It is an erroneous statement, therefore, that the apostle subjected himself to the vow at this time and went to Jerusalem to obtain absolution from it." Hackett.

On Aquila and Priscilla, see on Acts 18:2, note 21, p. 77.

(33) "*And left them there* (v. 19), i. e., he separated himself from them, so that he without them—he on his part—went to the synagogue, there discoursed with the Jews, and then, without longer stay, pursued his journey." Meyer.

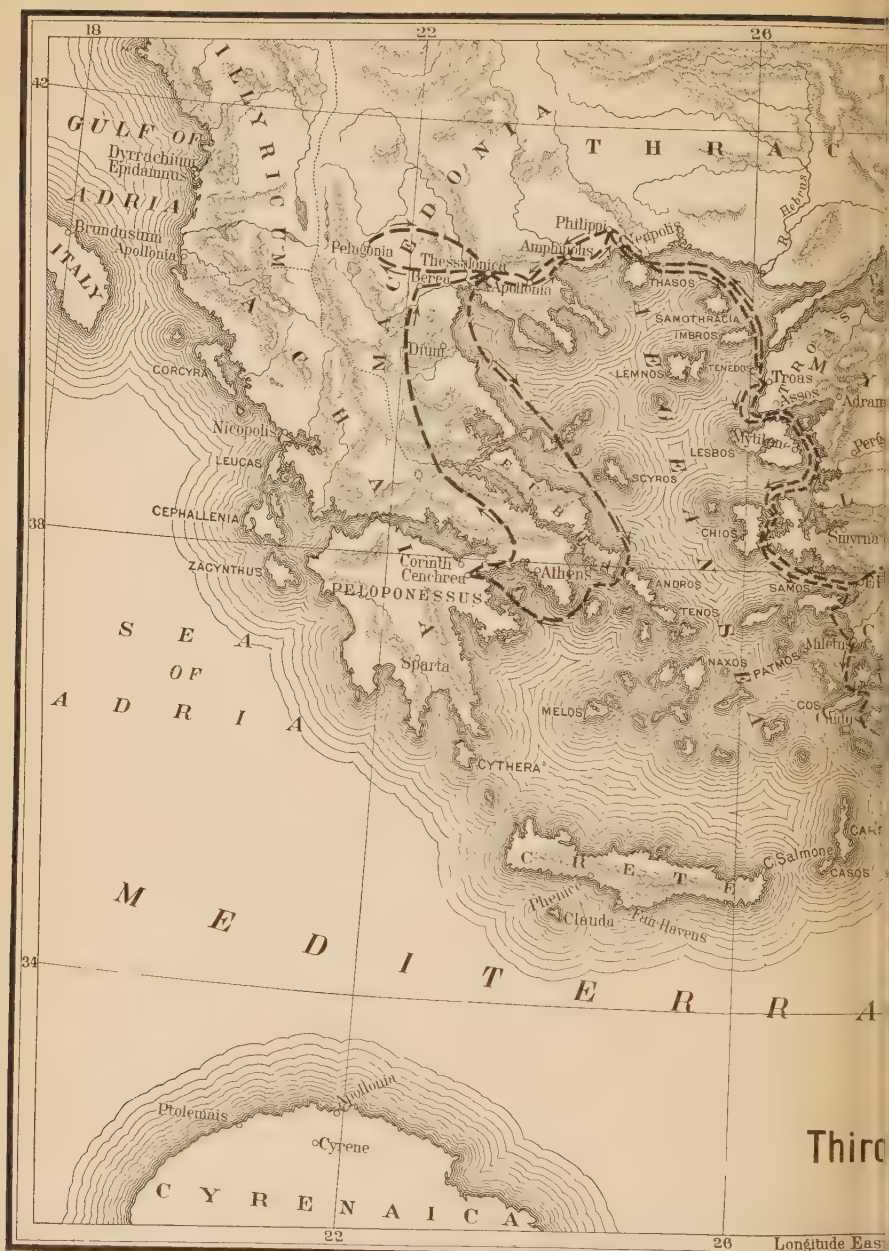
(34) The R. V. gives v. 21, "but taking his leave of them, and saying, I will return again unto you, if God will, he set sail from Ephesus."

(35) The expression "and gone up" (v. 22) has generally been regarded as meaning up to *Jerusalem* (Calvin, Neander, Meyer, Hackett). It is uncertain whether Paul made this journey, but I have put it in the text for the convenience of reference to Paul's so-called *fourth* Jerusalem visit.

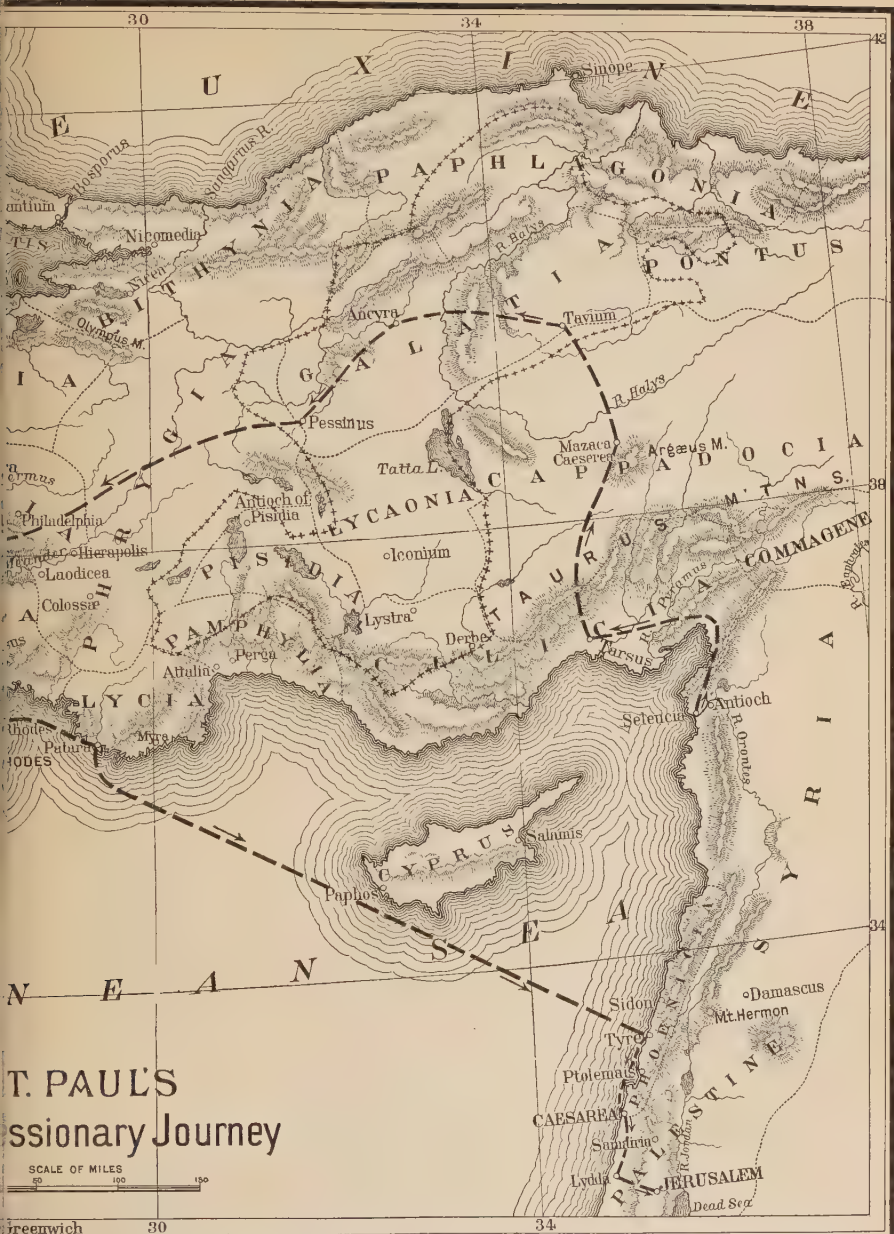
(36) Hackett and Neander place Peter's visit to Antioch and the quarrel with Paul (Gal. 2:11) at this time (Acts 18:22-23). It seems best to put the incident

with Acts 15:35 (see page 57). For a good statement of the former view see Hackett (Hovey, editor) on Acts 15:35 and 18:23.

"How long the apostle was absent on the tour, which terminated with his return to Antioch, can only be conjectured. The year and six months at Corinth (v. 11) would be likely to constitute the greater portion of the period. Wieseler proposes six months as the time occupied between leaving Antioch and the arrival at Troas (16:8). He would allow six months, also, for the apostle's labors in Europe before his arrival at Corinth. The time which this estimate allows for the Asiatic part of the tour may be too limited. The apostle visited extensively the churches in Syria and Cilicia, planted new churches in Phrygia and Galatia, and travelled very circuitously throughout his journey between Antioch and Troas. It may be safer to assign a year ~~at~~ least to such varied labors. According to this view, the apostle was absent on his second mission about three years; and if we place his departure early in A. D. 51, he reached Antioch again in the spring or summer of 54. Anger, Wieseler, Meyer, Winer, and others agree in supposing Paul to have arrived in Corinth in the autumn of A. D. 52. The admission of the date fixes the main point in this part of the chronology." Hackett.



The + + + + Lines show the Boundaries of Galatia as went through Galatia proper, as is generally supposed that indicated by the - - - line.



Ramsay's "The Church in the Roman Empire Before A.D. 170." If Paul
 oute from Antioch through Galatia and Phrygia to Ephesus, would be

PART V.

PAUL'S THIRD MISSIONARY JOURNEY.

TIME, 54-58 A. D. 4 YEARS.

I. ANTIOCH.

GALATIA AND PHRYGIA.

Paul revisits the churches of Galatia and Phrygia.

II. EPHESUS.

The work of Apollos in Ephesus.

III. PAUL IN EPHESUS, THREE YEARS.

1. Paul arrives in Ephesus. The disciples of John receive the Holy Ghost.
2. Paul in the synagogue, and in the school of Tyrannus. Paul's miracles of healing. Time, 2 years and 3 months.
3. The defeat of the Jewish exorcists.
4. Paul visits Corinth for the second time, returning to Ephesus.
5. Paul writes a letter to the Corinthians (now lost).
6. Paul plans to go through Macedonia and Achaia, to Jerusalem and Rome.
7. Timothy and Erastus are sent to Macedonia, Timothy to continue on to Corinth. Paul remains in Ephesus and writes 1 Corinthians in the Spring of 57 A. D.
8. Paul sends Titus and a "brother" to Corinth to inquire concerning the effect of 1 Corinthians, and to begin the collection for the poor in Jerusalem.
9. Demetrius the silversmith excites an uproar against Paul.

10. Additional details of Paul's stay in Ephesus from 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, and Acts 20.

- (a) Paul's companions : Sosthenes, Stephanas, Fortunatus, Achaicus, Aquila and Priscilla.
- (b) Paul's sufferings.
- (c) Paul's preaching for three years.
- (d) Paul's manual labor.

IV. TROAS.

MACEDONIA.

- 1. Leaving Ephesus Paul goes to Troas and thence into Macedonia.
- 2. Timothy joins Paul, and Titus brings good news from Corinth.
- 3. Paul preaches throughout Macedonia. The Macedonian Christians give generously for the relief of the Jerusalem Church.
- 4. Titus is sent on his second mission to Corinth, with two brethren, regarding the collection for the poor in Jerusalem. Titus is entrusted with 2 Corinthians, written in the Autumn of 57 A. D.

(ILLYRICUM.)

- 5. Paul goes to Illyricum and plans to go beyond Corinth to Spain.

V. GREECE.

- 1. The account in Acts.
Paul goes to Greece and abides there 3 months.
- 2. Paul's visit to Greece according to 2 Corinthians and Romans.

(CORINTH.)

- (a) Paul's third visit to Corinth. [Paul writes Galatians in the Winter of 57 A. D., and Romans in the Spring of 58 A. D.]
- (b) Paul's companions in Corinth : Phœbe, Timothy, Lucius, Jason, Sosipater, Tertius, Gaius, Erastus, Quartus, [Stephanas, Achaicus, Fortunatus].
- (c) Paul's plan to visit Rome and Spain after going to Jerusalem.

VI. THE JOURNEY FROM CORINTH TO JERUSALEM.

- 1. Paul tries to sail to Syria with alms for the Jerusalem church. A plot of the Jews necessitates a change of plan.
- 2. PHILIPPI (Macedonia.)

TROAS.

Paul returns to Macedonia and sails from Philippi to Troas, where he preaches to the disciples.

3. ASSOS.MITYLENE.

“Over against” CHIOS.

SAMOS.TROGYLLIUM (?).4. MILETUS.

Paul's address at Miletus to the Ephesian Elders.
His departure.

5. COOS.RHODES.PATARA.

“In sight of” CYPRUS (R. V.).

TYRE.6. PTOLEMAIS.CÆSAREA.

Agabus' prophecy.

JERUSALEM.

Paul's fifth visit to Jerusalem.

PART V.

Paul's Third Missionary Journey.⁽¹⁾

ACTS 18:23-21:16.

I. PAUL REVISITS THE CHURCHES OF GALATIA AND PHRYGIA.

ACTS 18:22, 23.

18:[22. And when he had landed at Cæsarea, and gone up, and saluted the church, he went down to Antioch. 23. And after he had spent some time *there*,] he departed, and went over *all* the country of Galatia and Phrygia in order, strengthening all the disciples.⁽²⁾

(1) Stalker gives a brief summary of the third missionary journey (sec. 109-114). On the origin of the Galatian churches, see note, p. 65.

(2) In the Epistle to the Galatians, written during this third journey, Paul expresses his solicitude for the Galatian Christians. See especially Gal. 1:6-10; 3:1-5; 4:11, 12, 16-20; 5:7-12. In the same epistle he gives a prominent place to warnings against his persistent opponents, the Judaizers. See Gal. 1:6-9; 3:1-5; 4:9-11; 5:1, 2, 7, 11; 6:12-15. Comp. Conybeare and Howson, Vol. II., pp. 133, 134, and Lightfoot, Galatians, Dissertation III., "St. Paul and the Three."

II. THE WORK OF APOLLOS IN EPHESUS.

ACTS 18:24-28.

18:24. And a certain Jew named Apollos, born at Alexandria, an eloquent man, *and* mighty in the Scriptures, came to Ephesus.⁽³⁾ 25. This man was instructed in the way of the Lord; and being fervent in the spirit, he spake and taught diligently the things of the Lord, knowing only the baptism of John. 26. And he began to speak boldly in the synagogue: whom when Aquila and Priscilla had heard, they took him unto *them*, and expounded unto him the way of God more perfectly. 27. And when he was disposed to pass into Achaia, the brethren wrote, exhorting the disciples to receive him: who, when he was come, helped them much which had believed through grace: 28. For he mightily convinced the Jews, *and that* publicly, showing by the Scriptures that Jesus was Christ.

(3) A study of the Corinthian church is not complete without a consideration of the work of Apollos. He was "a Jew from Alexandria, eloquent ('*logios*,' which may also mean learned), and mighty in the Scriptures: one instructed in the way of the Lord (Christ) according to the imperfect view of the disciples of John the Baptist, Acts 18:25; but on his coming to Ephesus during a temporary absence

of St. Paul, A. D. 54, more perfectly taught by Aquila and Priscilla. After this he became a preacher of the gospel, first in Achaia, and then in Corinth, Acts 18:27; 19:1, where he watered that which Paul had planted, 1 Cor. 3:6." Smith's "Bible Dictionary."

"And yet," say Conybeare and Howson, "evil grew up side by side with the good. For while he was a valuable aid to the Christians, and a formidable antagonist to the Jews, and while he was honestly coöperating in Paul's great work of evangelizing the world, he became the occasion of fostering party spirit among the Corinthians, and was unwillingly held up as a rival of the apostle himself. In this city of rhetoricians and sophists, the erudition and eloquent speaking of Apollos were contrasted with the unlearned simplicity with which St. Paul had studiously presented the gospel to his Corinthian hearers. Thus many attached themselves to the new teacher, and called themselves by the name of Apollos, while others ranged themselves as the party of Paul, 1 Cor. 1:12, forgetting that Christ could not be 'divided,' and that Paul and Apollos were merely 'ministers by whom they had believed,' 1 Cor. 3:5. We have no reason to imagine that Apollos himself encouraged or tolerated such unchristian divisions." On the contrary, the two apostles were on the best of terms. Paul wrote 1 Corinthians from Ephesus in 57 A. D., and in it he spoke of his desire to have Apollos go to Corinth with the bearers of the epistle. "As touching our brother Apollos, I greatly desired him to come unto you with the brethren; but his will was not at all to come at this time; but he will come when he shall have convenient time." 1 Cor. 16:12. This shows that Apollos was again in Ephesus after Acts 18:28, but he seems "just when this letter [1 Corinthians] was written to have been absent for a time, since no special greeting is sent from him." Meyer.

For a good account of Apollos' life and character, see Howson, "The Companions of St. Paul," chap. 4, and Conybeare and Howson, Vol. II., pp. 13-17. Apollos is not mentioned again by Paul until late in his life, Titus 3:13.

On Aquila and Priscilla, see on Acts 18:2, note 21, p. 77.

III. PAUL IN EPHEBUS.

Time, 3 Years.

I. PAUL ARRIVES IN EPHEBUS. THE DISCIPLES OF JOHN RECEIVE THE HOLY GHOST.

ACTS 19:1-7.

19:1. And it came to pass, that, while Apollos was at Corinth, Paul having passed through the upper coasts came to Ephesus; and finding certain disciples, 2. He said unto them, Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed? And they said unto him, We have not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost. 3. And he said unto them, Unto what then were ye baptized? And they said, Unto John's baptism. 4. Then said Paul, John verily baptized with the baptism of repentance, saying unto the people, that they should believe on him which should come after him, that is, on Christ Jesus. 5. When they heard *this*, they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus. 6. And when Paul had laid *his* hands upon them, the Holy Ghost came on them; and they spake with tongues, and prophesied. 7. And all the men were about twelve.

2. PAUL IN THE SYNAGOGUE, AND IN THE SCHOOL OF TYRANNUS. PAUL'S MIRACLES OF HEALING. TIME, 2 YEARS AND 3 MONTHS.

ACTS 19:8-12.

19:8. And he went into the synagogue, and spake boldly for the space of three months, disputing and persuading the things concerning the kingdom of God.⁽⁴⁾ **9.** But when divers were hardened, and believed not, but spake evil of that way before the multitude, he departed from them, and separated the disciples, disputing daily in the school of one Tyrannus. **10.** And this continued by the space of two years; so that all they which dwelt in Asia heard the word of the Lord Jesus, both Jews and Greeks. **11.** And God wrought special miracles by the hands of Paul: **12.** So that from his body were brought unto the sick handkerchiefs or aprons, and the diseases departed from them, and the evil spirits went out of them.

(4) In Acts 19:8 Paul is said to have spoken in the synagogue for three months, and in ver. 10 it is recorded that he disputed in the school of Tyrannus, "and this continued by the space of two years:" while a further fact is given in Paul's address to the Ephesian Elders where he says, "by the space of three years I ceased not to warn every one night and day with tears," Acts 20:31. Hackett establishes the harmony of these accounts by allowing the three months in the synagogue to be followed by the two years of disputation in the school of Tyrannus, the rest of the incidents mentioned in Acts 19:21-41, in which the incident of Demetrius occurs, taking place in the remaining nine months of the three years spent in the city, or six months, if the expression "by the space of three years" in Acts 20:31 is a general one. During these last nine or six months probably occurred the other incidents in the apostle's life which are given in Sec. III., 4-9.

While Paul was in Ephesus, and not long after his arrival, Hackett, Meyer, Ellicott and others think that he wrote Galatians, but I have followed Conybeare and Howson in placing its composition at Corinth. Acts 20:3.

During Paul's stay in Ephesus, Lightfoot thinks, the churches at Colosse, Laodicea and Hierapolis were founded.

3. THE DEFEAT OF THE JEWISH EXORCISTS.

ACTS 19:13-20.

19:13. Then certain of the vagabond Jews, exorcists, took upon them to call over them which had evil spirits the name of the Lord Jesus, saying, We adjure you by Jesus whom Paul preacheth. **14.** And there were seven sons of *one* Sceva, a Jew, and chief of the priests, which did so. **15.** And the evil spirit answered and said, Jesus I know, and Paul I know; but who are ye? **16.** And the man in whom the evil spirit was leaped on them, and overcame them, and prevailed against them, so that they fled out of that house naked and wounded. **17.** And this was known to all the Jews and Greeks also dwelling at Ephesus; and fear fell on them all, and the name of the Lord Jesus was magnified. **18.** And many that believed came, and confessed, and shewed their deeds. **19.** Many of them also which used curious arts brought their books together, and burned them before all *men*: and they counted the price of them, and found *it* fifty thousand *pieces* of silver. **20.** So mightily grew the word of God and prevailed.

4. PAUL VISITS CORINTH FOR THE SECOND TIME,⁽⁵⁾ RETURNING TO EPHESUS.

2 COR. 13:2.

13:2. I told you before, and foretell you, as if I were present, the second time; and being absent now I write to them which heretofore have sinned, and to all other, that, if I come again, I will not spare:

(5) At this point in the narrative we must add a few incidents which are either only briefly told in the Acts or are omitted entirely; namely, Paul's second visit to Corinth (sec. 4); Paul's letter to the Corinthians, now lost (sec. 5); his plan to go through Macedonia and Achaia to Jerusalem and Rome (sec. 6); the sending of Timothy and Erastus to Macedonia, and the writing of 1 Corinthians (sec. 7); the mission of Titus to Corinth (sec. 8). All these events must be inserted in the Acts before Acts 19:23, as after the occurrences which are described in vv. 23-41 Paul immediately left the city (Acts 20:1). To gain the proper amount of time, therefore, for secs. 4-8 I have placed them after Acts 19:20. Many of the selections given will appear fragmentary, but they indicate the brevity of the historical allusions in the Epistles on these subjects. While Paul was in Ephesus he made a short visit to Corinth. See a full discussion in Appendix VII. To the passage given in the text should be added the selections given under Paul's *third* Corinthian visit, sec. V., 2 (a).

5. PAUL WRITES A LETTER TO THE CORINTHIANS⁽⁶⁾ (NOW LOST).

1 COR. 5:9.

5:9. I wrote unto you in an epistle not to company with fornicators:

(6) Probably some time after Paul's second Corinthian visit he wrote a letter to the Corinthians which has been lost. That some epistle was sent to them before our existing 1 Corinthians was written is evident from a sound interpretation of 1 Cor. 5:9: "I wrote unto you in my epistle to have no company with fornicators" (R. V.).

Stanley, who repudiates the theory of the lost epistle, claims that the apostle is not referring to any previously written letter, but to his preceding words in the letter that he was then writing (1 Corinthians). Some break has occurred in his argument and he now returns to it to make clear his point, as though he would say, "I have already explained to you." But if the only purpose was to reiterate an argument, why use so cumbersome an expression, which on its surface suggests some other document? If, however, Paul *does* refer to some letter other than the one he was then writing his language is simple and natural. Meyer says, with weight (1), 2 Cor. 7:8 is a parallel passage in which Paul refers to 1 Corinthians, as he here in 1 Cor. 5:9 refers to the lost Epistle. (2) From the context there is no occasion for obscurity in Paul's words preceding 1 Cor. 5:9 which would de-

mand any correction of his meaning. The theory of the lost Corinthian Epistle also throws light, as Alford points out, on an allusion in 1 Cor. 16: 1: "Now concerning the collection for the saints, as I have given order to the churches of Galatia, even so do ye." Here there seems to be implied a desire to know about the *method* of taking up this contribution, and yet up to this time no mention has been made in the Acts or in Paul's Epistles that any such collection was to be made. We can only infer that some command had been sent to them by a messenger or by the lost Epistle. The theory of this lost Epistle is accepted even by Calvin, Beza, Grotius, and Bengel.

The contents of this lost Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians "may be in some measure surmised," says Alford, "from the data furnished in our two canonical Epistles. He had in it given them a command 'to have no company with fornicators,' which being taken by them in too strict and literal a sense, and on that account perhaps overlooked, as impossible to be observed, is explained in its true sense by him, 1 Cor. 5: 9-12. It also contained, in all probability, an announcement of a plan of visiting them on his way to Macedonia, and again on his return from Macedonia (2 Cor. 1: 15, 16), which he changed in consequence of the news heard from Chloe's household (1 Cor. 16: 5-7), for which alteration he was accused of lightness of purpose (2 Cor. 1: 17). We may safely say, also, that it contained a command to make a collection for the poor saints at Jerusalem. Further than this we cannot with any safety surmise. It was evidently a short letter, containing perhaps little or nothing more than the above announcement and injunctions, given probably in the pithy and sententious manner so common with the apostle." Alford, Proleg. 1 Cor., sec. 4.

On the other lost Epistles of Paul see Lightfoot: Philippians (pp. 138-142), "Lost Epistles to the Philippians," and Colossians (p. 274 ff.), "The Epistle from Laodicea." The lost books of the Old Testament are given in Gladden's "Who Wrote the Bible?" (pp. 13, 14).

6. PAUL PLANS TO GO THROUGH MACEDONIA AND ACHAIA, TO JERUSALEM AND ROME.

ACTS 19: 21.

19: 21. After these things were ended, Paul purposed in the spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem, saying, After I have been there, I must also see Rome. (7)

1 COR. 16: 3-7.

16: 3. And when I come, whomsoever ye shall approve by *your* letters, them will I send to bring your liberality unto Jerusalem. 4. And if it be meet that I go also, they shall go with me. 5. Now I will come unto you when I shall pass through Macedonia: for I do pass through Macedonia. 6. And it may be that I will abide, yea, and winter with you, that ye may bring me on my journey whithersoever I go. 7. For I will not see you now by the way; but I trust to tarry a while with you, if the Lord permit.

(7) Luke here says that Paul intended to go through Macedonia to Achaia, and 1 Cor. 16:3-7, written at this time, while Paul was in Ephesus, confirms this statement. Paul's desire to see Rome was again repeated in his Epistle to the Romans, where he added, "I will come by you into Spain" (Rom. 15:28).

7. TIMOTHY AND ERASTUS ARE SENT TO MACEDONIA,⁽⁸⁾ TIMOTHY TO CONTINUE ON TO CORINTH. PAUL REMAINS IN EPHESUS,⁽⁹⁾ AND WRITES 1 CORINTHIANS⁽¹⁰⁾ IN THE SPRING OF 57 A. D.

ACTS 19:22.

19:22. So he sent into Macedonia two of them that ministered unto him, Timotheus and Erastus;

ACTS 19:22.

but he himself stayed in Asia for a season.

1 COR. 4:17; 16:10, 11.

4:17. For this cause have I sent unto you Timotheus, who is my beloved son, and faithful in the Lord, who shall bring you into remembrance of my ways which be in Christ, as I teach every where in every church.

16:10. Now if Timotheus come, see that he may be with you without fear: for he worketh the work of the Lord, as I also do. 11. Let no man therefore despise him: but conduct him forth in peace, that he may come unto me: for I look for him with the brethren.

1 COR. 16:8, 9.

16:8. But I will tarry at Ephesus until Pentecost. 9. For a great door and effectual is opened unto me, and *there are* many adversaries.

(8) To Luke's statement in Acts 19:22, that Paul sent Timothy and Erastus into Macedonia, is added that from 1 *Corinthians*, that Timothy was charged to continue on to Corinth (1 Cor. 4:17; 16:10, 11). The language used in 1 Cor. 16:10, "Now if Timotheus come," implies that Timothy had already left Ephesus before Paul wrote 1 *Corinthians*.

(9) 1 Cor. 16:8 supplements Acts 19:22. "For a season" is seen to be "until Pentecost," which occurred in the spring of the year. Paul arrived in Ephesus in 54 or early 55, and stayed there three years (Acts 20:31). The time of his departure from Ephesus was therefore the spring of 57 or 58 A. D.

(10) To estimate properly the First canonical letter of Paul to the Corinthians due consideration must be given to the causes which led to its composition. If our chronological arrangement is correct, Paul had visited Corinth the second time and written the lost Corinthian Epistle. These events occurred some time during the three years' stay in Ephesus. Further developments in the life of the church in Corinth demanded another communication from him. Meyer gives three causes which led Paul to write 1 *Corinthians*: 1. Factions in the church. "Those of the

household of Chloe," 1 Cor. 1:11, brought this news to Paul. "For it hath been declared unto me of you, my brethren, by them which are of the house of Chloe, that there are contentions among you." In addition to this, some think that Apollos also had informed him of the state of things in Corinth; he had previously been in Corinth, 1 Cor. 1:12; Acts 19:1, and was near Paul when 1 Corinthians was written. 1 Cor. 16:12. But it is more probable that these factions had arisen after Apollos' departure. Here, then, was a new issue, of which Paul had not treated in the lost Epistle. 2. Unchastity in the church. Paul had previously warned them against this in person and by letter, 1 Cor. 5:9. Now a case of incest had arisen, 1 Cor. 5:1 ff.: "It is reported commonly that there is fornication among you." (The R. V. reads, "It is actually reported," etc.) 3. A letter *from* the Corinthians *to* Paul. That they had written him is certain from 1 Cor. 7:1: "Now concerning the things whereof ye wrote unto me." Possibly this letter was brought by Stephanas, Fortunatus and Achaicus, who were then in Ephesus on a visit. 1 Cor. 16:17. The Corinthians wrote to inquire about questions of celibacy, eating of meats offered to idols, etc. Such being the circumstances, Paul wrote 1 Corinthians.

"From 1 Cor. 16:8, 19 it is certain that Paul wrote *in Ephesus*, and that towards the end of his stay in that place, which did not last quite three years; after he had despatched (Acts 19:22; 1 Cor. 4:17) Timothy and Erastus to Macedonia (the former to Corinth as well), and had already resolved to journey through Macedonia and Achaia to Jerusalem (Acts 19:21; 1 Cor. 16:3 ff.). The *time* at which he wrote may be gathered from 1 Cor. 16:8 (some time before Pentecost) and 1 Cor. 5:6-8, from which latter passage it may be with reason inferred that, when Paul was writing, the feast of the Passover was nigh at hand." Meyer. Thus the Epistle was written in the spring of 57 (Alford, Schaff, Edwards, Farrar, Conybeare and Howson) or 58 (Meyer). The bearers of the Epistle, it is assumed, were those mentioned in 1 Cor. 16:17. Timothy and Erastus were away from Ephesus, and it is presumable that Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus, who were then with Paul (1 Cor. 16:17) on a visit from Corinth, were made the bearers of 1 Corinthians on their journey home. (So Meyer and Alford.) For the contents of the Epistle see Appendix VIII.

8. PAUL SENDS TITUS AND "A BROTHER" TO CORINTH TO INQUIRE CONCERNING THE EFFECT OF 1 CORINTHIANS, AND TO BEGIN THE COLLECTION FOR THE POOR IN JERUSALEM.

2 COR. 12:17-18; 7:13-15; 8:6.

12:17. Did I make a gain of you by any of them whom I sent unto you? 18. I desired Titus. and with *him* I sent a brother. Did Titus make a gain of you? walked we not in the same spirit? *walked we* not in the same steps?

7-13. Therefore we were comforted in your comfort: yea, and exceedingly the more joyed we for the joy of Titus, because his spirit was refreshed by you all. 14. For if I have boasted anything to him of you, I am not ashamed; but as we spake all things to you in truth, even so our boasting, which *I made* before Titus, is found a truth.

2 COR. 7.

15. And his inward affection is more abundant toward you, while he remembereth the obedience of you all, how with fear and trembling ye received him.

8:6. Inasmuch that we desired Titus, that as he had begun, so he would also finish in you the same grace also. (11)

(11) The mission of Titus to Corinth and its connection with Timothy's return to Ephesus are treated in Appendix IX. For an outline of the life of Titus see on Tit. 1:5. The second mission of Titus to Corinth occurred while Paul was in Macedonia; see sec. IV. 4.

9. DEMETRIUS THE SILVERSMITH EXCITES AN UPROAR AGAINST PAUL.

Acts 19:22-41.

[19:22. So he sent into Macedonia two of them that ministered unto him, Timotheus and Erastus; but he himself stayed in Asia for a season.] 23. And the same time there arose no small stir about that way. 24. For a certain *man* named Demetrius, a silversmith, which made silver shrines for Diana, brought no small gain unto the craftsmen; 25. Whom he called together with the workmen of like occupation, and said, Sirs, ye know by this craft we have our wealth. 26. Moreover ye see and hear, that not alone at Ephesus, but almost throughout all Asia, this Paul hath persuaded and turned away much people, saying that they be no gods, which are made with hands: 27. So that not only this our craft is in danger to be set at nought; but also that the temple of the great goddess Diana should be despised, and her magnificence should be destroyed, whom all Asia and the world worshippeth. 28. And when they heard *these sayings*, they were full of wrath, and cried out, saying, Great *is* Diana of the Ephesians. 29. And the whole city was filled with confusion: and having caught Gaius and Aristarchus, men of Macedonia, Paul's companions in travel, they rushed with one accord into the theatre. (12) 30. And when Paul would have entered in unto the people, the disciples suffered him not. 31. And certain of the chief of Asia, which were his friends, sent unto him, desiring *him* that he would not adventure himself into the theatre. 32. Some therefore cried one thing, and some another: for the assembly was confused; and the more part knew not wherefore they were come together. 33. And they drew Alexander out of the multitude, the Jews putting him forward. And Alexander beckoned with the hand, and would have made his defence unto the people. 34. But when they knew that he was a Jew, all with one voice about the space of two hours cried out, Great *is* Diana of the Ephesians. 35. And when the townclerk had appeased the people he said, Ye men of Ephesus, what man is there that knoweth not how that the city of the Ephesians is a worshipper of the great goddess Diana, and of the *image* which fell down from Jupiter? 36. Seeing then that these things cannot be spoken against, ye ought to be quiet, and to do nothing rashly. 37. For ye have brought hither these men, which are neither robbers of churches, nor yet blasphemers of your goddess. 38. Wherefore if Demetrius, and the craftsmen which are with him, have a matter against any man, the law is open, and there are deputies: let them implead one another. 39. But if ye inquire anything concerning other matters, it shall be determined in a lawful assembly. 40. For we are in danger to be called in question for this day's uproar, there being no cause whereby we may give an account of this concourse. 41. And when he had thus spoken, he dismissed the assembly.

(12) "*Gaius*, or *Caius* (ver. 29), who was a Macedonian, is not the one mentioned in Acts 20:4, or in Rom. 16:23 and 1 Cor. 1:14; for the former belonged

to Derbe; the latter, to Corinth. *Aristarchus* was a Thessalonian (20:4)." Hackett. See on Acts 27:2. *Alexander* (ver. 13) is not the same one mentioned in 2 Tim. 4:14. Meyer.

10. ADDITIONAL DETAILS OF PAUL'S STAY IN EPHESUS FROM 1 CORINTHIANS, 2 CORINTHIANS, AND ACTS 20.

(a) PAUL'S COMPANIONS :⁽¹³⁾ SOSTHENES, STEPHANAS, FORTUNATUS, ACHAICUS, AQUILA AND PRISCILLA.

1 COR. 1:1; 16:15-19.

1:1. Paul, called *to be* an apostle of Jesus Christ through the will of God, and *Sosthenes our brother*,

16:15. I beseech you, brethren, (ye know the house of Stephanas, that it is the first fruits of Achaia, and *that* they have addicted themselves to the ministry of the saints,) 16. That ye submit yourselves unto such, and to every one that helpeth with *us*, and laboreth. 17. I am glad of the coming of Stephanas and Fortunatus and Achaicus: for that which was lacking on your part they have supplied. 18. For they have refreshed my spirit and yours: therefore acknowledge ye them that are such. 19. The churches of Asia salute you, Aquila and Priscilla salute you much in the Lord, with the church that is in their house.

(13) *Apollos*, *Timothy*, *Erastus*, *Titus*, *Gaius* and *Aristarchus* have already been mentioned as companions of Paul in Ephesus and are not included in the list here given. *Sosthenes* "appears as a teacher then present with the apostle and enjoying his confidence, but known to, and respected among, the Corinthians. There remains, indeed, the *possibility* that he may have also *written* the Epistle, but only in so far as we are in *utter ignorance* of who the amanuensis was at all. Had Timothy not already started on his journey (1 Cor. 4:17; 16:10) he would have had a place along with or instead of Sosthenes, in the salutation of the Epistle; compare 2 Cor. 1:1." Meyer. The identity of Sosthenes is uncertain. He is not the ruler of the synagogue mentioned in Acts 18:17. "Possibly," says Alford, "he may have been one of the 'household of Chloe' (1 Cor. 1:11) by whom the intelligence had been received, and the apostle may have associated him with himself as approving the appeal to apostolic authority. Perhaps some slight may have been put upon him by the parties at Corinth, and for that reason Paul puts him forward." The household of *Stephanas* were the first Achaian converts and were among the few Paul baptized (1 Cor. 1:16, p. 81). *Fortunatus* and *Achaicus* may have been members of the same family (Alford). They were all three now in Ephesus, having brought from Corinth, we have assumed, a letter to Paul from the church. *Aquila* and *Priscilla* left Corinth (Acts 18:2, 19, 26) and went to Ephesus with Paul. They now send greetings back to the Corinthians. The expression, "with the church that is in their house," shows that while in Ephesus they gave their house for a meeting place for the church, as they did later when at Rome (Rom. 16:5). For an interesting study of *Aquila* and *Priscilla* see Howson's "The Companions of St. Paul," Chap. 11. See also note 21, p. 77.

(b) PAUL'S SUFFERINGS.

ACTS 20:17-19.

[20:17. And from Miletus he sent to Ephesus and called the elders of the church. 18. And when they were come to him, he said unto them,] Ye know, from the first day that I came into Asia, after what manner I have been with you at all seasons, 19. Serving the Lord with all humility of mind, and with many tears, and temptations, which befell me by the lying in wait of the Jews.

1 COR. 15:30-32.

15:30. And why stand we in jeopardy every hour? 31. I protest by your rejoicing which I have in Christ Jesus our Lord, I die daily. 32. If after the manner of men I have fought with beasts at Ephesus, what advantageth it me, if the dead rise not? let us eat and drink; for to-morrow we die. (14).

2 COR. I:8-11.

I:8. For we would not, brethren, have you ignorant of our trouble which came to us in Asia, that we were pressed out of measure, above strength, insomuch that we despaired even of life: 9. But we had the sentence of death in ourselves, that we should not trust in ourselves, but in God which raiseth the dead: 10. Who delivered us from so great a death, and doth deliver: in whom we trust that he will yet deliver us; 11. Ye also helping together by prayer for us, that for the gift bestowed upon us by the means of many persons thanks may be given by many on our behalf.

(14) To fight with beasts is "a significant *figurative* description of the *fight with strong and exasperated enemies*"; so Meyer, Stanley and the commentators generally. There is no reference to "an actual fight with beasts out of which he had been wonderfully delivered," as his right of Roman citizenship would have prevented that, and the silence of Luke in Acts 19:9-41, and of Paul in his catalogue of sufferings in 2 Cor. 11:23, ff., can not be accounted for in so striking an incident. There is, also, no reference to any *special* danger, as during the uproar of Demetrius (Acts 19:29-41), for Paul was not then in danger, and from Acts 20:1 it is evident that he left the city immediately after, thus allowing no time for the composition of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, which was written from Ephesus, without doubt. The allusion in 1 Cor. 15:32 refers, as Meyer says, "to the whole heavy conflict which he had to wage in Ephesus up to that time with exasperated Jewish antagonists, and of which he speaks in Acts 20:19." See also the list of Paul's sufferings in Appendix XVII.

Neander, Wieseler and Davidson see in 2 Cor. 1:8-10 an allusion to Paul's sufferings in Ephesus, especially the tumult of Demetrius. Stanley assents to this, but adds: "On the other hand, the words 'were pressed,' 'we ourselves within ourselves' [R. V.], and the general context, point either to illness or to inward care occasioned probably by his anxiety for the Corinthian church: also, had he alluded to the tumult at Ephesus, he would have probably used the expression 'in Ephesus,' as in 1 Cor. 15:32, not 'in Asia.' Here, as elsewhere, we may observe the understatement, in the Acts, of his sufferings."

(c) PAUL'S PREACHING FOR THREE YEARS.

ACTS 20:20, 21, 25-27, 31.

20:20. And how I kept back nothing that was profitable *unto you*, but have showed you, and have taught you publicly, and from house to house, 21. Testifying both to the Jews, and also to the Greeks, repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ. . . . 25. And now, behold, I know that ye all, among whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God, shall see my face no more. 26. Wherefore I take you to record this day, that I *am* pure from the blood of all *men*. 27. For I have not shunned to declare unto you all the counsel of God. . . . 31. Therefore watch, and remember, that by the space of three years I ceased not to warn every one night and day with tears.

(d) PAUL'S MANUAL LABOR.

ACTS 20:33-35.

20:33. I have coveted no man's silver, or gold, or apparel. 34. Yea, ye yourselves know, that these hands have ministered unto my necessities, and to them that were with me.⁽¹⁵⁾ 35. I have showed you all things, how that so laboring ye ought to support the weak, and to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said, It is more blessed to give than to receive.

1 COR. 4:11, 12.

4:11. Even unto this present hour we both hunger, and thirst, and are naked, and are buffeted, and have no certain dwellingplace; 12. And labor, working with our own hands: [being reviled, we bless; being persecuted, we suffer it:]

(15) "This allusion to the apostle's habit of manual labor (Acts 20:34) while he was at Ephesus accords remarkably with 1 Cor. 4:11, 12. Luke has said nothing of it in his narrative of Paul's residence in that city (Acts 19:1, seq.). But in the above-named passage of the Epistle, which Paul wrote just before his departure from Ephesus, we find him saying, '*Unto this present hour . . . we labor, working with our own hands.*' Nothing could be more undesigned than this agreement." Hackett. See also note 22, p. 79. and Appendix VI.

During the three years which Paul spent in Ephesus, according to some critics, who deny the theory of the second Roman captivity but accept the Pauline authorship of the Pastoral Epistles, the apostle wrote 1 *Timothy* while on his second excursion to Corinth, and shortly after his return to Ephesus the Epistle to *Titus*. The more satisfactory view, however, places these Epistles between the first and second Roman captivities. Comp. Schaff's "History of the Christian Church," Vol. I., p. 801.

In selecting passages from the Epistles on Paul's third missionary journey I have assumed that *Ephesians* was an encyclical letter intended for several churches besides that at Ephesus (see Appendix XV.), and I have therefore omitted any quotations from it bearing on Paul's life in Ephesus. The Epistle, however, is peculiarly free from personal and historical references.

For an account of Paul's subsequent visits to Ephesus see Part X., sec. V., 1 and 4.

IV. PAUL IN MACEDONIA.

I. LEAVING EPHESUS PAUL GOES TO TROAS, AND THENCE INTO MACEDONIA.

ACTS 20:1.

20:1. And after the uproar was ceased, Paul called unto *him* the disciples, and embraced *them*, and departed for to go into Macedonia.⁽¹⁶⁾

2 COR. 2:12, 13.

2:12. Furthermore, when I came to Troas to *preach* Christ's gospel, and a door was opened unto me of the Lord, 13. I had no rest in my spirit, because I found not Titus my brother; but taking my leave of them, I went from thence into Macedonia.

(16) Paul left Ephesus, went to Troas, and thence to Macedonia, and so on to Greece (Corinth) (2 Cor. 2:12; Acts 20:1, 2, 3). This was not the route he originally intended to take. The confusion which arises from the fluctuations of his plans at this time is removed if it is remembered that in the First Epistle to the Corinthians Paul announces the revision of his plan before the original plan itself is announced in 2 Corinthians. Following Meyer, the case may be stated as follows: 1. *The original plan.* This is given in 2 Cor. 1:15, 16: "And in this confidence I was minded to come before unto you, that ye might have a second benefit; and by you to pass into Macedonia, and again from Macedonia to come unto you, and of you to be set forward on my journey unto Judæa." (R. V.) The original route was, accordingly, Ephesus, Corinth, Macedonia, and on the return, Macedonia to Corinth again, from whence he would sail for Judæa. The Corinthians would thus receive him twice on this trip. This plan was conceived in Ephesus before 1 Corinthians was written, and was communicated to Corinth by a messenger or by Paul's lost Corinthian epistle (p. 94). Probably no mention would ever have occurred in 2 Corinthians of this original and forgotten purpose of Paul's had it not come up as a charge against him by his enemies, who accused him of fickleness. In replying to their strictures he incidentally gives us his first plan, which had later undergone revision. 2. *The altered and fulfilled plan.* Before he wrote 1 Corinthians, or while he was writing it, he decided on another order for his visits, which is announced in 1 Cor. 16:5, 6: "But I will come unto you, when I shall have passed through Macedonia; for I do pass through Macedonia; but with you it may be that I shall abide, or even winter, that ye may set me forward on my journey whithersoever I go." (R. V.) He now omits the first visit to Corinth, on the way to Macedonia, which he originally intended to make; his purpose is to go direct from Ephesus to Macedonia and thence to Corinth. This was the route he actually took (Acts 20:1).

While on the way from Ephesus to Macedonia, Alford thinks, Paul may have experienced one of the three shipwrecks mentioned in 2 Cor. 11:25 ("thrice I suffered shipwreck"). See note 19, p. 28.

2. TIMOTHY JOINS PAUL, AND TITUS BRINGS GOOD NEWS FROM CORINTH.

2 COR. I:1; 7:5-7, 13-16.

I:1. Paul, an apostle of Jesus Christ by the will of God, and Timothy *our* brother,⁽¹⁷⁾ unto the church of God which is at Corinth, with all the saints which are in all Achaia:

7:5. For, when we were come into Macedonia, our flesh had no rest, but we were troubled on every side; without *were* fightings, within *were* fears. 6. Nevertheless God, that comforteth those that are cast down, comforted us by the coming of Titus; (18) 7. And not by his coming only, but by the consolation wherewith he was comforted in you, when he told us your earnest desire, your mourning, your fervent mind toward me; so that I rejoiced the more. . . . 13. Therefore we were comforted in your comfort: yea, and exceedingly the more joyed we for the joy of Titus, because his spirit was refreshed by you all. 14. For if I have boasted anything to him of you, I am not ashamed; but as we spake all things to you in truth, even so our boasting, which *I made* before Titus, is found a truth. 15. And his inward affection is more abundant toward you, whilst he remembereth the obedience of you all, how with fear and trembling ye received him. 16. I rejoice therefore that I have confidence in you in all *things*.

(17) Timothy last appeared in the history at Ephesus (Acts 19:22; 1 Cor. 4:17, p. 96), having been sent to Macedonia and Corinth.

It will be seen later that while Paul was in Macedonia he wrote *2 Corinthians*. In the first verse of that Epistle Timothy is mentioned in the salutation, and therefore he was with Paul at the time of writing.

(18) As previously stated, our theory is that Titus had been sent to Corinth from Ephesus to make inquiries concerning the effect of Corinthians and the condition of the church (see note 11, p. 98); he now joins Paul in Macedonia, bringing favorable news as the result of his journey.

3. PAUL PREACHES THROUGHOUT MACEDONIA. THE MACEDONIAN CHRISTIANS GIVE GENEROUSLY FOR THE RELIEF OF THE JERUSALEM CHURCH.

ACTS 20:1, 2.

20:[1. And after the uproar was ceased, Paul called unto *him* the disciples, and embraced *them*, and departed for to go into Macedonia.] 2. And when he had gone over those parts, and had given them much exhortation,

(The narrative in the Acts continues on p. 107.)

2 COR. 8:1-5.

8:1. Moreover, brethren, we do you to wit of the grace of God bestowed on the churches of Macedonia;⁽¹⁹⁾ 2. How that in a great trial of affliction, the abundance of their joy and their deep poverty abounded unto the riches of their liberality. 3. For to *their* power, I bear record, yea, and beyond *their* power *they were* willing of themselves; 4. Praying us with much entreaty that we would receive the gift, and *take upon us* the fellowship of the ministering to the saints. 5. And *this they did*, not as we hoped, but first gave their own selves to the Lord, and unto us by the will of God.

(19) "By the 'churches' or 'congregations' of Macedonia, he means those Christian congregations of which one was to be found in each of the cities where he had preached; namely, Philippi (Acts 16:12-40), Thessalonica (Acts 17:1-9), Berea (Acts 17:10-15). Two points are noticed in these congregations: 1. Their extreme poverty ('their deep poverty,' 8:2; 'beyond their power,' 8:3). This poverty was probably shared by them in common with all other parts in Greece, except the two great Roman colonies of Patræ and Corinth; the latter especially since its revival by Julius Cæsar. . . . 2. Their extreme generosity. So in the church of Thessalonica (2 Thess. 3:10, 11) the apostle's converts are warned against indiscriminate bounty. So from the church of Philippi, contributions were sent to support the apostle, both on his travels through Macedonia (Phil. 4:15) and afterwards in his imprisonment at Rome (Phil. 2:25; 4:16, 18). And in this Epistle (2 Cor. 11:9) he speaks of the support which was brought to him from Macedonia during his residence at Corinth; a circumstance which would impress on his Corinthian converts in a livelier form his present argument. Some also of the Macedonian Christians gave, not merely their money, but 'themselves' to his service as constant companions (2 Cor. 8:5); amongst whom were Sopater, Secundus, and Aristarchus (Acts 20:4; 27:2; Col. 4:10), Epaphroditus, who 'regarded not his life' in the apostle's service (Phil. 2:30), and perhaps the author of the Acts, who remained at Philippi (Acts 16:10-40; 20:6) when the apostle went forward, and was now about to rejoin him. And the number of these Macedonian converts is the more striking when compared with the few who came from the churches of Southern Greece, none of whom, except Sosthenes (1 Cor. 1:1), appears as a permanent companion." Stanley, pp. 464, 465. Compare Appendix VI., on Paul's manual labor and its connection with the Macedonian churches.

4. TITUS IS SENT ON HIS SECOND MISSION TO CORINTH WITH
TWO BRETHREN, REGARDING THE COLLECTION FOR THE
POOR IN JERUSALEM.⁽²⁰⁾ TITUS IS ENTRUSTED
WITH 2 CORINTHIANS,⁽²¹⁾ WRITTEN IN
THE AUTUMN OF 57 A. D.

2 COR. 8:6-8, 16-24; 9:1-5.

8:6. Inasmuch that we desired Titus, that as he had begun, so he would also finish in you the same grace also. 7. Therefore, as ye abound in every thing, in faith, and utterance, and knowledge, and in all diligence, and in your love to us, see that ye abound in this grace also. 8. I speak not by commandment, but by occasion of the forwardness of others, and to prove the sincerity of your love. . . . 16. But thanks be to God, which put the same earnest care into the heart of Titus for you. 17. For indeed he accepted the exhortation; but being more forward, of his own accord he went unto you. 18. And we have sent with him the brother, whose praise is in the gospel throughout all the churches; 19. And not that only, but who was also chosen of the churches to travel with us with this grace, which is administered by us to the glory of the same Lord, and declaration of your ready mind: 20. Avoiding this, that no man should blame us in this

2 COR 8.

abundance which is administered by us: 21. Providing for honest things, not only in the sight of the Lord, but also in the sight of men. 22. And we have sent with them our brother, whom we have oftentimes proved diligent in many things, but now much more diligent, upon the great confidence which *I have* in you. 23. Whether *any do inquire* of Titus, *he is* my partner and fellow helper concerning you: or our brethren *be inquired of, they are* the messengers of the churches, and the glory of Christ. 24. Wherefore show ye to them, and before the churches, the proof of your love, and of our boasting on your behalf.

9:1. For as touching the ministering to the saints, it is superfluous for me to write to you: 2. For I know the forwardness of your mind, for which I boast of you to them of Macedonia, that Achaia was ready a year ago; and your zeal hath provoked very many. 3. Yet have I sent the brethren, lest our boasting of you should be in vain in this behalf; that, as I said, ye may be ready: 4. Lest haply if they of Macedonia come with me, and find you unprepared, we (that we say not, ye) should be ashamed in this same confident boasting. 5. Therefore I thought it necessary to exhort the brethren, that they would go before unto you, and make up beforehand your bounty, whereof ye had notice before, that the same might be ready, as *a matter of* bounty, and not as of covetousness.

(20) The first mission of Titus to Corinth (see note p. 98) produced the second. The news he brought to Paul after his first visit also occasioned the writing of *2 Corinthians*. Titus is made the bearer of the Epistle and is charged to hasten the collection for the poor. Who were Titus' companions on his mission to Corinth is not known. Stanley thinks that "the brother whose praise is in the gospel throughout all the churches" (ver. 18) is *Trophimus*. He was with Paul when he returned from this visit to Corinth (Acts 20:4), and was also with him in Jerusalem when Paul went to carry the collection which Titus and his companions were to gather (Acts 21:29). The other companion (2 Cor. 8:22) may have been *Tychicus*, as Stanley also suggests. "He is mentioned amongst the few names which occur in the Epistle to Titus (3:12). He is spoken of in Eph. 6:21; Col. 4:7 as 'a beloved brother,' 'faithful minister and fellow-servant in the Lord,' knowing the apostle's 'affairs,' which agrees well with the description of 'our brother, whom we have oftentimes proved earnest in many things' (2 Cor. 8:22)." Conybeare and Howson suggest as other possible names of Titus' companions, Luke, Gaius, "or one of those, not Macedonians (2 Cor. 9:4), mentioned Acts 20:4."

(21) The circumstances which led Paul to write 2 Corinthians were as follows: 1. The arrival of Titus from Corinth. Paul left Ephesus and went to Troas, where he tarried a short time expecting to meet Titus (2 Cor. 2:12, 13); failing in that, he journeyed on to Macedonia, where Titus joined him (2 Cor. 7:5, 6). Paul had been anxious because of the news Timothy had brought him of the reception of 1 Corinthians (see Appendix IX). Titus now brings an encouraging account of the affairs in Corinth (2 Cor. 7:5 ff.), and in consequence of this another letter is required from the apostle to the Corinthians, expressing his approbation of their conduct and giving further counsel. 2. The collection for the saints at Jerusalem. Paul had previously communicated with the Corinthians on this same subject once in the lost epistle already referred to (p. 94), and again in 1 Cor. 16:1 ff., where

he gave instructions as to the method of making the collection. He now returns to the theme. He had been long enough among the Macedonians to learn of their good work and benevolence (2 Cor. 8 : 1-5), and in his letter he uses their generosity to stir the Corinthians to action. Titus is sent with the Second letter to the Corinthians, and is commissioned to gather the collection (2 Cor. 8 : 16-24) before Paul comes on his third visit (Acts 20 : 2, 3).

For an outline of the Epistle see Appendix X.

The place of writing 2 Corinthians was certainly Macedonia (2 Cor. 2 : 13 ; 7 : 5 ; 8 : 1 ; 9 : 2 ; Acts 20 : 1), but no clue is given of the city from which Paul wrote, whether it was Thessalonica (Alford) or Philippi. The time of writing is also fixed. "The apostle now, as far as we know," says Hackett, "was in that country only three times. When he was there first (on his second missionary journey), he had not yet been at Corinth at all (Acts 16 : 11), and when he passed through that province on his last return to Jerusalem (Acts 20 : 3), he was going in the opposite direction and not advancing to Corinth, as stated in the Epistle [2 Cor. 12 : 14 ; 13 : 1]. He wrote the Second Epistle to the Corinthians therefore on this second journey through Macedonia; Acts 20 : 1-2, in the summer, probably, or early autumn of A. D. 58." As to the place of writing 2 Corinthians, commentators are unusually harmonious in supporting the position here given by Hackett ; the preferable date, however, is the autumn of 57 A. D. (Alford, Conybeare and Howson, Stalker, Schaff). This epistle should be carefully studied, as it gives with great fullness an account of the apostle's state of mind while he was in Macedonia. Luke hurriedly passes over the visit in less than two verses, Acts 20 : 1-2.

5. PAUL GOES TO ILLYRICUM,⁽²²⁾ AND PLANS TO GO BEYOND CORINTH TO SPAIN.

ROM. 15 : 19-20.

15 : 19. Through mighty signs and wonders, by the power of the Spirit of God ; so that from Jerusalem, and round about unto Illyricum, I have fully preached the gospel of Christ. 20. Yea, so have I strived to preach the gospel, not where Christ was named, lest I should build upon another man's foundation.

2 COR. 10 : 15-16.

10 : 15. Not boasting of things without *our* measure, *that is*, of other men's labors ; but having hope, when your faith is increased, that we shall be enlarged by you according to our rule abundantly. 16. To preach the gospel in the *regions* beyond you, *and* not to boast in another man's line of things made ready to our hand.⁽²³⁾

(22) "In Rom. 15 : 19 Paul speaks of having published the gospel *as far as Illyricum*, which was a country on the west of Macedonia. It was at this time, probably, that he penetrated so far in that direction. It could not have been on his first visit to Macedonia (Acts 16 : 12 seq.), for the course of his journey at that time is minutely traced in the Acts, from his landing at Philippi to his leaving Corinth. He moved along the eastern side of the peninsula and was kept at a distance from Illyricum. When he passed through Macedonia next (Acts 20 : 3) he had already written the epistle to the Romans. Lardner pronounces this geographical coincidence sufficiently important to confirm the entire history of Paul's travels." Hackett.

(23) In 2 Cor. 10:15-16 Paul wrote to the Corinthians his intention of coming to them and continuing on into the "regions beyond." Stanley and Meyer interpret this as meaning a proposed visit to Spain, to which he refers again while in Corinth (Rom. 15:24, 28, p. 110).

V. PAUL IN GREECE.

I. THE ACCOUNT IN ACTS. PAUL GOES TO GREECE AND ABIDES THERE THREE MONTHS.⁽²⁴⁾

ACTS 20:1-3.

20:[1. and departed for to go into Macedonia. 2. And when he had gone over those parts, and had given them much exhortation,] he came into Greece, 3. And *there* abode three months. And when the Jews laid wait for him, as he was about to sail into Syria, [he purposed to return through Macedonia.]

(The narrative in Acts continues on p. 111).

(24) "He came into Greece and there abode three months." Few passages in the Acts are as condensed as this. While in Greece Paul wrote his great dogmatic epistles to the Galatians and the Romans and planned his trip, to Spain, which he probably never accomplished. From Greece he started on his journey to Jerusalem with alms for the poor saints in Judæa (see below, p. 111), a journey which began that long series of confinements which ended in his death. Yet all these things are not even mentioned by Luke, the motive for the visit to Jerusalem being but briefly hinted at in another part of the history, in Paul's speech before Felix: "Now, after many years, I came to bring alms to my nation, and offerings," Acts 24:17. During this visit to Greece Paul made his *third* trip to Corinth. The passages taken from 2 Corinthians, written in Macedonia just before his departure for Greece, show his intention of going there.

To preserve the continuity of the life of Paul according to the Acts, which forms the basis of this Harmony, I have omitted many valuable passages from the Corinthian Epistles, which reveal the inner life of the apostle and the history of the church at Corinth. *Stalker* (chap. 8) has a very readable chapter, entitled "Picture of a Pauline church," which should be studied in this connection. On Paul's love and care for the Corinthians see 1 Cor. 1:4-9; 4:14-16, 20-21; 2 Cor. 1:6-7, 11-15; 3:1-4; 6:11-13; 7:2-4, 16; 11:1, 2; 12:15, 16, 19; 13:9.

The party divisions in Corinth are well discussed in Meyer, 1 Corinthians, Intro. sec. I., and Conybeare and Howson, I. pp. 443-448. See also note 3, p. 91.

2. PAUL'S VISIT TO GREECE ACCORDING TO 2 CORINTHIANS AND ROMANS.

(a) PAUL'S THIRD⁽²⁵⁾ VISIT TO CORINTH. [PAUL WRITES GALATIANS⁽²⁶⁾ IN THE WINTER OF 57 A. D., AND ROMANS⁽²⁷⁾ IN THE SPRING OF 58 A. D.]

2 COR. 2:1; 9:3, 4; 12:14, 20-21; 13:1-3.

2:1. But I determined this with myself, that I would not come again to you in heaviness.

2 COR. 9.

9:3. [Yet have I sent the brethren, lest our boasting of you should be in vain in this behalf; that, as I said, ye may be ready:] 4. Lest haply if they of Macedonia come with me, and find you unprepared, we (that we say not, ye) should be ashamed in this same confident boasting.

12:14. Behold, the third time I am ready to come to you; and I will not be burdensome to you: for I seek not yours, but you: for the children ought not to lay up for the parents, but the parents for the children. . . . 20. For I fear, lest, when I come, I shall not find you such as I would, and *that* I shall be found unto you such as ye would not: lest *there be* debates, envyings, wraths, strifes, backbitings, whisperings, swellings, tumults: 21. And lest, when I come again, my God will humble me among you, and *that* I shall bewail many which have sinned already, and have not repented of the uncleanness and fornication and lasciviousness which they have committed. * *

13:1. This *is* the third *time* I *am* coming to you. In the mouth of two or three witnesses shall every word be established. 2. I told you before, and foretell you, as if I were present, the second time; and being absent now I write to them which heretofore have sinned, and to all other, that, if I come again, I will not spare: 3. Since ye seek a proof of Christ speaking in me, which to you-ward is not weak, but is mighty in you.

(25) "Although," says Meyer, "Luke mentions no particular city as the scene of the apostle's three months' residence at that time [Acts 20:2, 3], still it is, *a priori*, probable that he spent at least the greater part of the time in Corinth. For Corinth was the principal church of the country, and was in the eyes of the apostle preëminently important and precious on account of his earlier labors there. But our attention is also directed to Corinth by the passages 1 Cor. 16:1-7; 2 Cor. 9:4; 12:20 to 13:3, from which it is plain that, on his journey down from Macedonia to Achaia, Paul had chosen that city as the place of his sojourn, where he wished to complete the business of the collection, and from which he would convey the money to Jerusalem." (Romans, Intro. p. 26).

On the question whether Paul made two or three visits to Corinth see Appendix VII. Compare sec. 4, p. 94.

(26) While on his third visit to Corinth Paul wrote the Epistles to the Galatians and to the Romans. The date of Galatians is a disputed point. The usually accepted view is that it was written from Ephesus during Paul's three years' stay there (54-57); so Hackett, Meyer, Neander, Wieseler, Greswell. From historical and doctrinal resemblances between Romans, the Corinthian Epistles and Galatians, it seems best to assign the latter to a time after 2 Corinthians and before Romans. The place of writing would therefore be Macedonia, while Paul was on the way to Achaia (Lightfoot), or *Corinth* (Conybeare and Howson, Farrar). This fixes the date at 57 or 58 A. D. (Lightfoot), or the winter of 57 A. D. (Conybeare and Howson). See the whole case clearly stated by Lightfoot, "Galatians," Intro., note III., "The date of the Epistle," and Conybeare and Howson. II., p. 136.

(27) The date of Romans is more easily decided upon than that of Galatians. There seems little doubt that it was written from Corinth during the visit mentioned in Acts 20:2, 3.

That Romans was written just before Paul left Corinth is proved, says Hackett, "by several distinct arguments. One is that Paul was the guest of Gaius at the

time (Rom. 16:23); and Gaius, as we learn from 1 Cor. 1:14, was one of the converts at Corinth whom Paul baptized. Again, he commends to the Roman Christians Phœbe, a deaconess of the church at Cenchrea [the eastern port of Corinth], who was on the point of proceeding to Rome (Rom. 16:1) and was probably the bearer of the letter. Further, the apostle's situation, as disclosed in the Epistle, agrees with that in the Acts at this time. Thus he was on the eve of departing to Jerusalem (Rom. 15:25), was going thither with contributions for the Jewish believers (Rom. 15:25, 26), and after that was meditating a journey to Rome. The date of the Epistle, therefore, was the spring of A. D. 58 or 59." Alford and Conybeare and Howson prefer the spring of 58 A. D.

(b) PAUL'S COMPANIONS⁽²⁸⁾ IN CORINTH: PHŒBE, TIMOTHY, LUCIUS, JASON, SOSIPATER, TERTIUS, GAIUS, ERASTUS, QUARTUS, [STEPHANAS, ACHAICUS, FORTUNATUS].

ROM. 16:1, 2, 21-23.

16:1. I commend unto you Phœbe our sister, which is a servant of the church which is at Cenchrea: 2. That ye receive her in the Lord, as becometh saints, and that ye assist her in whatsoever business she hath need of you: for she hath been a succorer of many, and of myself also. . . . 21. Timotheus my workfellow, and Lucius, and Jason, and Sosipater, my kinsmen, salute you. 22. I Tertius, who wrote this epistle, salute you in the Lord. 23. Gaius mine host, and of the whole church, saluteth you. Erastus the chamberlain of the city saluteth you, and Quartus a brother.

(28) *Phœbe* was a deaconess of the church at Cenchrea, the eastern port of Corinth. Nothing is known of her besides this. She was evidently the bearer of the Epistle to the Romans, "a supposition," says Meyer, "which there is nothing to contradict." (See Howson, "Companions of St. Paul," Chap. VI.) It may surprise us that *Timothy* "is not brought forward at the head of the Epistle as its joint writer (as in 2 Cor. 1:1; Phil. 1:1; Col. 1:1; 1 Thess. 1:1; 2 Thess. 1:1), since he was at that time with Paul." But it is possible that he was absent just when Paul began to compose the Epistle, and hence the apostle availed himself in the writing of it of the hand of a more subordinate person, who had no place in the superscription (ver. 22); it is possible also that the matter took this shape for the inward reason that Paul deemed it suitable to appear with his Epistle before the Roman church, to which he was still so strange, in all his unique and undivided apostolic authority." Meyer. *Lucius* is not Luke, but perhaps the "Lucius of Cyrene" (Acts 13:1) who was prominent in the church at Antioch. *Jason* may be the same one mentioned in Acts 17:1-7 (p. 71), who was Paul's host at Thessalonica. *Sosipater* perhaps is Sopater the Berean (Acts 20:4). These last three Paul styles his "kinsmen," as in Rom. 16:7, but Godet (against Meyer) thinks they were only "his countrymen." *Tertius* was the amanuensis to whom Paul dictated the Epistle; he may have been an Italian personally known to the Romans. Could the apostle "dictate to him his own salutation as he had dictated the preceding? No, that would have been to treat him as a sim-

ple machine. The apostle had too exquisite a sense of propriety to follow such a course. He ceases to dictate, and leaves Tertius himself to salute in his own name, 'I Tertius.' This detail, insignificant in appearance, is not without its value. It lets us see what St. Paul was better than many graver actions. Here we have what may be called the politeness of the heart." Godet. *Gaius* is probably not the *Gaius* mentioned in Acts 19:29; 20:4; 3 John 1, but is the one whom Paul baptized in Corinth (1 Cor. 1:14, p. 81). He was Paul's host and was a man at whose house all strangers were welcome. The expression, "and of the whole church," may mean, as Godet says, "that when the church of Corinth held a full meeting (1 Cor. 14:23), it was at the house of *Gaius* that these assemblies took place." *Erastus* is not the one named in Acts 19:22 and 2 Tim. 4:20, "for the person sending greeting here," says Meyer, "was not like Timothy, a travelling assistant of the apostle, but *administrator of the city chest*, city chamberlain, in Corinth." *Quartus* is unknown.

Compare also on Paul's companions in Corinth 1 Cor. 16:17. *Stephanas*, *Achaicus* and *Fortunatus*, who were the bearers of 1 Corinthians from Ephesus, having returned to their homes in Corinth, were probably with the apostle when he was there on this his third Corinthian visit.

(C) PAUL'S PLAN TO VISIT ROME⁽²⁹⁾ AND SPAIN AFTER GOING TO JERUSALEM.

ROM. I:8-16; I5:22-29.

I:8. First, I thank my God through Jesus Christ for you all, that your faith is spoken of throughout the whole world. 9. For God is my witness, whom I serve with my spirit in the gospel of his Son, that without ceasing I make mention of you always in my prayers; 10. Making request, if by any means now at length I might have a prosperous journey by the will of God to come unto you. 11. For I long to see you, that I may impart unto you some spiritual gift, to the end ye may be established; 12. That is, that I may be comforted together with you by the mutual faith both of you and me. 13. Now I would not have you ignorant, brethren, that oftentimes I purposed to come unto you, (but was let hitherto,) that I might have some fruit among you also, even as among other Gentiles. 14. I am debtor both to the Greeks, and to the Barbarians; both to the wise, and to the unwise. 15. So, as much as in me is, I am ready to preach the gospel to you that are at Rome also. 16. For I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ: for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth; to the Jew first, and also to the Greek.

I5:22. For which cause also I have been much hindered from coming to you. 23. But now having no more place in these parts, and having a great desire these many years to come unto you; 24. Whensoever I take my journey into Spain, I will come to you: for I trust to see you in my journey, and to be brought on my way thitherward by you, if first I be somewhat filled with your *company*. 25. (But now I go unto Jerusalem to minister unto the saints. 26. For it hath pleased them of Macedonia and Achaia to make a certain contribution for the poor saints which are at Jerusalem.) 27. It hath pleased them verily; and their debtors they are. For if the Gentiles have been made partakers of their spiritual things, their duty is also to minister unto them in carnal things. 28. When therefore I have performed this, and have sealed to them this fruit, I will come by you into Spain. 29. And I am sure that, when I come unto you, I shall come in the fulness of the blessing of the gospel of Christ.

(29) Paul had previously expressed his wish to see Rome, while in Ephesus (Acts 19:21, p. 95). There was an early church tradition that later in his life, after being in Rome, Paul went to Spain, in accordance with the desire here stated in Rom. 15:24, 28, but there is hardly sufficient evidence of the visit.

VI. THE JOURNEY FROM CORINTH TO JERUSALEM.

I. PAUL TRIES TO SAIL TO SYRIA WITH ALMS FOR THE JERUSALEM CHURCH. A PLOT OF THE JEWS NECESSITATES A CHANGE OF PLAN.

ACTS 20:2, 3.

20:[2. And when he had gone over those parts, and had given them much exhortation, he came into Greece, 3. And *there* abode three months.] And when the Jews laid wait for him, as he was about to sail into Syria, he purposed to return through Macedonia.⁽³⁰⁾

ROM. 15:25-27.

15:25. But now I go unto Jerusalem to minister unto the saints. 26. For it hath pleased them of Macedonia and Achaia to make a certain contribution for the poor saints which are at Jerusalem. 27. It hath pleased them verily; and their debtors they are. For if the Gentiles have been made partakers of their spiritual things, their duty is also to minister unto them in carnal things.⁽³¹⁾

(30) Paul had now nearly completed his revised plan of visiting Macedonia, Corinth, and Jerusalem (see note 16. p. 102). He intended to go direct from Corinth (Achaia) to Jerusalem (Acts 19:21, p. 95), but the conspiracy of the Jews (Acts 20:3) prevented him from accomplishing his purpose. He accordingly left Corinth for Macedonia, going thence to Troas (Acts 20:6), and at last made his way to Jerusalem (Acts 21:15).

(31) The selection from Rom. 15:25-27 given in the text shows what Paul's purpose was in going to Syria. It has appeared frequently in the life of Paul up to this time that he was busily engaged in collecting money for the poor in the Jerusalem church. Rom. 15:25, written from Corinth, fills out Luke's brief history of Paul's life at this time. In order to preserve the unity of the journey from Corinth to Jerusalem, I have placed the whole section from Acts 20:3 to 21:16 under one general division: sec. VI.

2. PAUL RETURNS TO MACEDONIA AND SAILS FROM PHILIPPI TO TROAS, WHERE HE PREACHES TO THE DISCIPLES.

ACTS 20:3-12.

20:3. [And when the Jews laid wait for him, as he was about to sail into Syria], he purposed to return through Macedonia.⁽³²⁾ 4. And there accompanied him into Asia Sopater of Berea; and of the Thessalonians, Aristarchus and Secundus; and Gaius of Derbe, and Timotheus; and of Asia, Tychicus and Trophimus.⁽³³⁾ 5. These going before tarried for us at Troas.⁽³⁴⁾ 6. And we sailed away from Philippi after the days of unleavened bread, and came unto them to Troas in five days; where we abode seven

ACTS 20.

days. 7. And upon the first *day* of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread, Paul preached unto them, ready to depart on the morrow; and continued his speech until midnight. 8. And there were many lights in the upper chamber, where they were gathered together. 9. And there sat in a window a certain young man named Eutychus, being fallen into a deep sleep: and as Paul was long preaching, he sunk down with sleep, and fell down from the third loft, and was taken up dead. 10. And Paul went down, and fell on him, and embracing *him* said, Trouble not yourselves: for his life is in him. 11. When he therefore was come up again, and had broken bread, and eaten, and talked a long while, even till break of day, so he departed. 12. And they brought the young man alive, and were not a little comforted.

(32) The R. V. translates *ver.* 3, "he determined to return through Macedonia."

(33) "The best manuscripts read *Pyrrhus* after *Sopater*, genitive of kindredship. *Sopater* son of *Pyrrhus* [so R. V.]. This addition distinguishes *Sopater* perhaps from *Sosipater* in Rom. 16:21." Hackett. It cannot be decided, however, whether they are the same. Meyer. On *Aristarchus* see on Acts 27:2.

"The *Gaius* in Acts 19:29 must be a different person from the one here, since they belonged to different countries. This *Gaius* is probably the individual of this name to whom the apostle John wrote his third Epistle [3 John 1]. *Secundus* is otherwise unknown. Luke supposes *Timothy's* origin to be familiar to the reader, and so passes it over. (De Wette, Meyer.) *Tychicus* is named in Eph. 6:21; Col. 4:7; Titus 3:12; and 2 Tim. 4:12. He was one of the most trusted of Paul's associates (see on Col. 4:7). *Trophimus*, who was an Ephesian, appears again in Acts 21:29 and 2 Tim. 4:20. He, and probably *Aristarchus* (27:2), went with the apostle to Jerusalem. The others may have stopped at Miletus, since the language in *ver.* 13 intimates that the party kept together after leaving Troas." Hackett.

(34) "Luke resumes here (v. 5) the first person plural, which has not occurred since 16:17." Luke continues with the apostle from this time on until his arrival in Rome. For his later life see on Col. 4:14. The last time Paul was in Philippi was during his second missionary journey (see pp. 67-71). On his subsequent visit, after his release from prison in Rome, see on Phil. 1:26.

3. FROM TROAS TO MILETUS.

ACTS 20:13-16.

20:13. And we went before to ship, and sailed unto Assos, there intending to take in Paul: for so had he appointed, minding himself to go afoot. 14. And when he met with us at Assos, we took him in, and came to Mitylene. 15. And we sailed thence, and came the next *day* over against Chios; and the next *day* we arrived at Samos, and tarried at Trogyllium;⁽³⁵⁾ and the next *day* we came to Miletus. 16. For Paul had determined to sail by Ephesus, because he would not spend the time in Asia: for he hastened, if it were possible for him, to be at Jerusalem the day of Pentecost.

(35) The R. V. omits "and tarried at Trogyllium" (v. 15).

4. PAUL'S ADDRESS AT MILETUS TO THE EPHESIAN ELDERS.⁽³⁶⁾ HIS DEPARTURE.

ACTS 20:17-38.

20:17. And from Miletus he sent to Ephesus, and called the elders of the church. 18. And when they were come to him, he said unto them, Ye know, from the first day that I came into Asia, after what manner I have been with you at all seasons, 19. Serving the Lord with all humility of mind, and with many tears and temptations, which befell me by the lying in wait of the Jews: 20. And how I kept back nothing that was profitable unto you, but have showed you, and have taught you publicly, and from house to house, 21. Testifying both to the Jews, and also to the Greeks, repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ. 22. And now, behold, I go bound in the spirit unto Jerusalem, not knowing the things that shall befall me there: 23. Save that the Holy Ghost witnesseth in every city, saying that bonds and afflictions abide me.

ROM. 15:30-32.

15:30. Now I beseech you, brethren, for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, and for the love of the Spirit, that ye strive together with me in *your* prayers to God for me; 31. That I may be delivered from them that do not believe in Judæa; and that my service which *I have* for Jerusalem may be accepted of the saints; 32. That I may come unto you with joy by the will of God, and may with you be refreshed.⁽³⁷⁾

24. But none of these things move me, neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course with joy, and the ministry, which I have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God. 25. And now, behold, I know that ye all, among whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God, shall see my face no more. 26. Wherefore I take you to record this day, that I *am* pure from the blood of all men. 27. For I have not shunned to declare unto you all the counsel of God. 28. Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood. 29. For I know this, that after my departing shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock. 30. Also of your own selves shall men arise, speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them. 31. Therefore watch, and remember, that by the space of three years I ceased not to warn every one night and day with tears. 32. And now, brethren, I commend you to God, and to the word of his grace, which is able to build you up, and to give you an inheritance among all them which are sanctified. 33. I have coveted no man's silver, or gold, or apparel. 34. Yea, ye yourselves know, that these hands have ministered unto my necessities, and to them that were with me. 35. I have showed you all things, how that so laboring ye ought to support the weak, and to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said, It is more blessed to give than to receive. 36. And when he had thus spoken, he kneeled down, and prayed with them all. 37. And they all wept sore, and fell on Paul's neck, and kissed him, 38. Sorrowing most of all for the words which he spake, that they should see his face no more. And they accompanied him unto the ship.

(36) The greater part of Paul's address to the Ephesian elders has been given before in the text, under the head of Paul's stay in Ephesus (pp. 92-101). The address is characteristically Pauline. "The evidence furnished by this speech," says Alford, "as to the literal report in the Acts of the words spoken by Paul, is most important. It is a treasure-house of words, idioms, and sentiments peculiarly belonging to the apostle himself."

(37) "Paley compares this verse [Acts 20:23] with Rom. 15:30, which Epistle the apostle had just written at Corinth. He there entreats the Roman Christians 'to strive together with him in their prayers to God for him, that he might be delivered from them who believed not in Judæa.' The two passages, therefore, 'without any resemblance between them that could induce us to suspect that they were borrowed from one another,' represent the state of Paul's mind, with respect to the event of the journey, in terms of substantial agreement. They both express his sense of danger in the approaching visit to Jerusalem; they both express the doubt which dwelt upon his thoughts concerning what might there befall him.'" Hackett.

5. FROM MILETUS TO TYRE.

ACTS 21:1-6.

21:1. And it came to pass, that after we were gotten from them, and had launched, we came with a straight course unto Coos, and the *day* following unto Rhodes, and from thence unto Patara: 2. And finding a ship sailing over unto Phenicia, we went aboard, and set forth. 3. Now when we had discovered Cyprus, we left it on the left hand, and sailed into Syria, and landed at Tyre: for there the ship was to unlade her burden. 4. And finding disciples, we tarried there seven days: who said to Paul through the Spirit, that he should not go up to Jerusalem. 5. And when we had accomplished those days, we departed and went our way; and they all brought us on our way, with wives and children, till *we were* out of the city: and we kneeled down on the shore, and prayed. 6. And when we had taken our leave one of another, we took ship; and they returned home again.

6. TO PTOLEMAIS AND CÆSAREA. AGABUS' PROPHECY. PAUL'S FIFTH VISIT TO JERUSALEM.

ACTS 21:7-16.

21:7. And when we had finished *our* course from Tyre, we came to Ptolemais, and saluted the brethren, and abode with them one day.⁽³⁸⁾ 8. And the next *day* we that were of Paul's company departed, and came unto Cæsarea; and we entered into the house of Philip the evangelist, which was *one* of the seven; and abode with him. 9. And the same man had four daughters, virgins, which did prophesy. 10. And as we tarried *there* many days, there came down from Judæa a certain prophet, named Agabus. 11. And when he was come unto us, he took Paul's girdle, and bound his own hands and feet, and said, Thus saith the Holy Ghost, So shall the Jews at Jerusalem bind the man that owneth this girdle, and shall deliver *him* into the hands of the Gentiles. 12. And when we heard these things, both we, and they of that place, besought him not to go up to Jerusalem. 13. Then Paul answered, What mean ye to weep and to break mine heart? for I am ready not to be bound only, but also to die at Jerusalem for the name of the Lord Jesus. 14. And when he would not be persuaded, we ceased, saying,

ACTS 21.

The will of the Lord be done. 15. And after those days we took up our carriages, and went up to Jerusalem. 16. There went with us also *certain* of the disciples of Cæsarea, and brought with them one Mnason⁽³⁹⁾ of Cyprus, an old disciple, with whom we should lodge.⁽⁴⁰⁾

(38) The R. V. gives v. 7, "And when we had finished the voyage from Tyre, we arrived at Ptolemais."

(39) "Nothing further is known of *Mnason* himself. The name is Greek, and probably he was, if not a Gentile Christian, at any rate a Hellenist. Looking to the feeling which prevailed among the Jewish Christians against Paul, it was natural and prudent that he should lodge with such a one, in order that he should enter into further relations to the church." Meyer.

(40) "The apostle arrives now at Jerusalem—for the *fifth* time since he left it on his persecuting errand to Damascus. It is the last recorded visit that he ever made to the Jewish capital. His present return could not have taken place later than the spring of A. D. 59, since we must reserve two years for his imprisonment at Cæsarea (24:27), and two for his imprisonment at Rome, before we come to A. D. 64. If we fix upon this limitation on that side, we have then four years as the term of the apostle's third missionary excursion, which we may distribute as follows: He left Antioch about the beginning of A. D. 55 (18:23), and reached Ephesus in the spring of that year. Here he spent about three years (20:31), and proceeded to Macedonia in the spring of A. D. 58. He was occupied here and in other parts of Northern Greece during the summer and autumn of that year, and arrived at Corinth early in the following winter. Having spent the next three months in that city (20:3), he returned to Macedonia and embarked for Syria in the spring of A. D. 59. Or our scheme of chronology admits of a slightly different combination: If we suppose two years and six months or nine months to exhaust *three years*, in 20:31, we may assign Paul's return to Jerusalem to the spring of the preceding year, viz., that of A. D. 58. The apostle may have left Antioch on his third tour sufficiently early in A. D. 54 (18:22) to have spent several months at Ephesus before Pentecost in A. D. 55; and he could then have completed the two remaining years of his residence in that city at Pentecost in A. D. 57. The advantage of this computation would be that it frees us from the necessity of crowding the two years of the apostle's Roman captivity so near the year A. D. 64." Hackett.

PART VI.

PAUL'S FIFTH VISIT TO JERUSALEM.

TIME, 58 A. D.

- I. PAUL'S VOW.
- II. THE SEIZURE OF PAUL IN THE TEMPLE BY THE JEWS.
HIS RESCUE.
- III. PAUL'S SPEECH ON THE CASTLE STAIRS.
- IV. PAUL'S ROMAN CITIZENSHIP.
- V. PAUL'S SPEECH BEFORE THE SANHEDRIN.
- VI. PAUL IN THE CASTLE.
- VII. THE CONSPIRACY OF THE JEWS TO KILL PAUL.
 1. The plot and its discovery.
 2. The plan of escape. Lysias' letter to Felix. The journey to
Cæsarea :
JERUSALEM.
ANTIPATRIS.
CÆSAREA.

PART VI.

Paul's Fifth Visit to Jerusalem.

ACTS 21 : 17 to 23 : 32.

I. PAUL'S VOW.

ACTS 21:17-26.

21:17. And when we were come to Jerusalem, the brethren received us gladly.⁽¹⁾ 18. And the *day* following Paul went in with us unto James; and all the elders were present. 19. And when he had saluted them, he declared particularly what things God had wrought among the Gentiles by his ministry. 20. And when they heard *it*, they glorified the Lord, and said unto him, Thou seest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are which believe; and they are all zealous of the law: 21. And they are informed of thee, that thou teachest all the Jews which are among the Gentiles to forsake Moses, saying that they ought not to circumcise *their* children, neither to walk after the customs. 22. What is it therefore? the multitude must needs come together; for they will hear that thou art come. 23. Do therefore this that we say to thee: We have four men which have a vow on them: 24. Them take, and purify thyself with them, and be at charges with them, that they may shave *their* heads: and all may know that those things, whereof they were informed concerning thee, are nothing; but *that* thou thyself also walkest orderly, and keepest the law. 25. As touching the Gentiles which believe, we have written *and* concluded that they observe no such thing, save only that they keep themselves from *things* offered to idols, and from blood, and from strangled, and from fornication. 26. Then Paul took the men, and the next day purifying himself with them entered into the temple, to signify the accomplishment of the days of purification, until that an offering should be offered for every one of them.⁽²⁾

ACTS 24:17.

24:17. Now after many years I came to bring alms to my nation, and offerings.

ACTS 24:18.

24:18. Whereupon certain Jews from Asia found me purified in the temple, neither with multitude, nor with tumult.

(1) Stalker gives a concise account of Paul's fifth visit to Jerusalem (section 163-168). Acts 20:4 gives the list of the companions who left Corinth with Paul and Luke. Trophimus (ver. 29) is the only one who appears prominently in the scenes at Jerusalem. Perhaps Aristarchus was also with the apostle at this time, see Acts 27:2. Soon after his arrival in the city, Paul must have delivered to the church the collection which he had brought from Greece and Macedonia. The quotation from Acts 24:17 is the only allusion in this connection in the Acts, but we have seen how prominent a part this work of benevolence had played in Paul's life, and how it was the very cause which brought him to Jerusalem. See Part V., Sec. VI., 1.

(2) Paul and his companions were received by the elders and by James, the brother of the Lord (Gal. 1:19), who is mentioned in Acts 12:17, and whose wisdom so largely directed the action of the council at Jerusalem (Acts 15:13 ff. p. 54). Paul's catholicity was now severely tested. The council had decided that the Gentiles were not to be compelled to observe the ceremonial law, but the Jews of Palestine were suspicious of Paul. Rumor said that he taught "all the Jews which are among the Gentiles to forsake Moses" (ver. 21). "The body of presbyters," says Meyer—"certainly headed by its apostolic chief James as spokesman—recognizes with thanksgiving to God the merits of Paul in the conversion of the Gentiles [ver. 20], but then represents to him at once also his critical position towards the *Palestinian Jewish-Christians* (ver. 21), among whom the opinion had spread that he taught all the Jews living in 'the dispersion,' among the Gentiles, when preaching his gospel to them, apostasy from the law of Moses. This opinion was, according to the principles expressed by Paul in his Epistles, and according to his wisdom in teaching generally, certainly *erroneous*; but amidst the tenacious over-valuing of Mosaism on the part of the Judaists, ever fomented by the anti-Pauline party, it arose very *naturally* from the doctrine, firmly and boldly defended by Paul, that the attainment of the Messianic salvation was not conditioned by circumcision and the works of the law, but purely by faith in Christ. What he had taught by way of denying and guarding against the value put on Mosaism, so as to secure the necessity of faith, was, by the zealous Judaists taken up and interpreted as a hostile attack, as a direct summons to apostasy from the Mosaic precepts and institutions." The proposition was therefore made by James and the elders that, to preserve the harmony of the church and to disprove the rumors against him, Paul should show by some outward act his regard for the law of Moses. An opportunity was at hand (vv. 23, 24). Four men had "a vow on them." "This vow," says Hackett, "bound those who assumed it to let the hair grow, to abstain from intoxicating drink, and in other respects to maintain a life of ascetic rigor. (Num. 6:2 seq.). It was left to their option how long they continued such a vow, though it seems to have been customary among the Jews of this period to extend it at least to thirty days." The elders urged Paul, saying, "these take, and purify thyself with them, and be at charges for them, that they may shave their heads." (R. V.) By defraying the expense of the offerings he would become a participant in the

vow. The urgent appeal was effective, and on the following day he proceeded to the temple and entered upon the "same course of abstinence and religious consecration" which the four men had assumed in taking the vow. Paul's conduct in this transaction was perfectly consistent with his previous teaching and practices. "In fact," says Meyer, "he must have been altogether convinced that the observance of the law was not under dispute, by those who regard him as an opponent of it, in the sense of justification by the law; otherwise he would as little have consented to the proposal made to him as he formerly did to the circumcision of Titus." (See note 4, p. 54. Compare 1 Cor. 9: 19-22.)

II. THE SEIZURE OF PAUL IN THE TEMPLE BY THE JEWS. HIS RESCUE.

ACTS 21:27-39.

21:27. And when the seven days were almost ended, the Jews which were of Asia, when they saw him in the temple, stirred up all the people, and laid hands on him,⁽³⁾

28. Crying out, Men of Israel, help: This is the man, that teacheth all *men* everywhere against the people, and the law, and this place: and further brought Greeks also into the temple, and hath polluted this holy place. 29. (For they had seen before with him in the city Trophimus an Ephesian, whom they supposed that Paul had brought into the temple.) 30. And all the city was moved, and the people ran together: and they took Paul and drew him out of the temple: and forthwith the doors were shut. 31. And as they went about to kill him, tidings came unto the chief captain of the band, that all Jerusalem was in an uproar: 32. Who immediately took soldiers and centurions, and ran down unto them: and when they saw the chief captain and the soldiers, they left beating of Paul. 33. Then the chief captain came near, and took him, and commanded him to be bound with two chains; and demanded who he was, and what he had done. 34. And some cried one thing, some another, among the multitude; and when he could not know the certainty for the tumult, he commanded him to be carried into the castle. 35. And when he came upon the stairs, so it was, that he was borne of the soldiers for the violence of the people. 36. For the multitude of the people followed after, crying, Away with him. 37. And as Paul was to be led into the castle, he said unto the chief captain, May I speak unto thee? Who said, Canst thou speak Greek? 38. Art not thou that Egyptian, which before these days madest an uproar, and leddest out into the wilderness four thousand men that were murderers? 39. But Paul said, I am a man *which am* a Jew of Tarsus, a city in Cilicia, a citizen of no mean city: and, I beseech thee, suffer me to speak unto the people.

ACTS 26:19-21.

26:[19. Whereupon, O king Agrippa, I was not disobedient unto the heavenly vision: 20. But showed first unto them of Damascus, and at Jerusalem, and throughout all the coasts of Judea, and *then* to the Gentiles, that they should repent and turn to God, and do works meet for repentance.] 21. For these causes the Jews caught me in the temple, and went about to kill *me*.

(3) "The seven days" (v. 27) are "in all probability," says Hackett, "the seven days announced to the priests as the limit to which the vow of the Nazarites would extend, and as the period, also, of the apostle's partnership in that consecration. This is the readiest explanation, and the one to which most critics assent."

Some of "the Jews from Asia" (v. 27) "may have been from Ephesus, who would recognize Trophimus (v. 29) as a fellow-townsmen. The Jews here, the authors of this riot, were not believers, and hence not of the class of Jews whom the apostle expected to conciliate." They had seen Trophimus, who was a Greek, with Paul in the city, "and from that rushed to the conclusion that he had brought Greeks into the temple. 'Zealots,' says Bengel, 'in supposing, often err.'" Paul's offence seems the greater when it is remembered that he was charged with bringing Trophimus into the part of the temple not open to foreigners. "The outer court or enclosure was called the Court of the Gentiles, and could be entered by them without profanation. The second court, or that of the Israelites, was surrounded with marble pillars, on which, as Philo states, was inscribed, in Latin and Greek, 'On penalty of death, let no foreigner go farther.'" Hackett.

On the Roman soldiers and the castle of Antonia described in vv. 31-39, see Conybeare and Howson, Vol. II., pp. 250-255.

III. PAUL'S SPEECH ON THE CASTLE STAIRS.

ACTS 21:40-22:1-21.

21:40. And when he had given him license, Paul stood on the stairs, and beckoned with the hand unto the people. And when there was made a great silence, he spake unto *them* in the Hebrew tongue, saying,⁽⁴⁾

22:1. Men, brethren, and fathers, hear ye my defence *which I make* now unto you. 2. (And when they heard that he spake in the Hebrew tongue to them, they kept the more silence: and he saith,) 3. I am verily a man *which am* a Jew, born in Tarsus, *a city* in Cilicia, yet brought up in this city at the feet of Gamaliel, *and* taught according to the perfect manner of the law of the fathers, and was zealous toward God, as ye all are this day. 4. And I persecuted this way unto the death, binding and delivering into prisons both men and women. 5. As also the high priest doth bear me witness, and all the estate of the elders: from whom also I received letters unto the brethren, and went to Damascus, to bring them which were there bound unto Jerusalem, for to be punished. 6. And it came to pass, that, as I made my journey, and was come nigh unto Damascus about noon, suddenly there shone from heaven a great light round about me.⁽⁵⁾ 7. And I fell unto the ground, and heard a voice saying unto me, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? 8. And I answered, Who art thou, Lord? And he said unto me, I am Jesus of Nazareth, whom thou persecutest. 9. And they that were with me saw indeed the light, and were afraid; but they heard not the voice of him that spake to me. 10. And I said, What shall I do, Lord? And the Lord said unto me, Arise, and go into Damascus; and there it shall be told thee of all things which are appointed for thee to do. 11. And when I could not see for the glory of that light, being led by the hand of them that were with me, I came into Damascus. 12. And one Ananias, a devout man according to the law, having a good report of all the Jews which dwelt *there*, 13. Came unto me, and stood, and said unto me, Brother Saul, receive thy sight. And the same hour I looked up upon him. 14. And he said, The God of our fathers hath chosen thee, that thou shouldest know his will, and see that Just One, and shouldest hear the voice of his mouth. 15. For thou shalt be his witness unto all men of what thou hast seen and heard. 16. And now why tarriest thou? arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling on the name of the Lord. 17. And it came to pass, that, when I was come again to Jerusalem, even while I prayed in the temple, I was in a trance;⁽⁶⁾ 18. And saw him saying unto me, Make haste, and get thee quickly out of Jerusalem: for they will not receive thy testimony concerning me. 19. And I said, Lord, they know that I

ACTS 22.

imprisoned and beat in every synagogue them that believed on thee: 20. And when the blood of thy martyr Stephen was shed, I also was standing by, and consenting unto his death, and kept the raiment of them that slew him. 21. And he said unto me, Depart: for I will send thee far hence unto the Gentiles.

(4) "Though the subject-matter of this speech has been related before, it assumes here a fresh interest from the manner in which it is adapted to the occasion and the audience. The apostle is suspected of disaffection to the Mosaic law. In order to refute this charge he addresses them in Hebrew; he dwells on his Jewish education and on his early zeal for the law; he shows how at his conversion he was guided by Ananias, a man devout according to the law, and of good report among the Jews at Damascus, and how he subsequently worshipped in the temple at Jerusalem. So far they listen to him; but he no sooner touches on the promulgation of the gospel among the heathen (v. 21) than he is interrupted, and his fate would probably have been the same as Stephen's, had he not been under the protection of the Roman captain." Humphry, quoted in Hackett.

(5) For the various accounts of Paul's conversion see pp. 19-25.

(6) On the relation of Paul's vision in the temple (v. 17) to his departure from Jerusalem see note 18, p. 28.

IV. PAUL'S ROMAN CITIZENSHIP.⁽⁷⁾

ACTS 22:22-29.

22:22. And they gave him audience unto this word, and *then* lifted up their voices, and said, Away with such a *fellow* from the earth: for it is not fit that he should live. 23. And as they cried out, and cast off *their* clothes, and threw dust into the air, 24. The chief captain commanded him to be brought into the castle, and bade that he should be examined by scourging; that he might know wherefore they cried so against him. 25. And as they bound him with thongs, Paul said unto the centurion that stood by, Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman, and uncondemned? 26. When the centurion heard *that*, he went and told the chief captain, saying, Take heed what thou doest; for this man is a Roman. 27. Then the chief captain came, and said unto him, Tell me, art thou a Roman? He said, Yea. 28. And the chief captain answered, With a great sum obtained I this freedom. And Paul said, But I was *free* born. 29. Then straightway they departed from him which should have examined him: and the chief captain also was afraid, after he knew that he was a Roman, and because he had bound him.

(7) On this whole scene and the question of Paul's Roman citizenship see Hackett, and Conybeare and Howson, Vol. I., pp. 45, 46; Vol. II., pp. 259, 260.

V. PAUL'S SPEECH BEFORE THE SANHEDRIN.

ACTS 22:30-23:1-9.

22:30. On the morrow, because he would have known the certainty wherefore he was accused of the Jews, he loosed him from *his* bands, and commanded the chief priests and all their council to appear, and brought Paul down, and set him before them.⁽⁸⁾

ACTS 23.

23:1. And Paul, earnestly beholding the council, said, Men *and* brethren, I have lived in all good conscience before God until this day. 2. And the high priest Ananias commanded them that stood by him to smite him on the mouth. 3. Then said Paul unto him, God shall smite thee, *thou* whited wall: for sittest thou to judge me after the law, and commandest me to be smitten contrary to the law? 4. And they that stood by said, Revilest thou God's high priest? 5. Then said Paul, I wist not, brethren, that he was the high priest: for it is written, Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people.⁽⁹⁾ 6. But when Paul perceived that the one part were Sadducees, and the other Pharisees, he cried out in the council, Men *and* brethren, I am a Pharisee, the son of a Pharisee: of the hope and resurrection of the dead I am called in question. 7. And when he had so said, there arose a dissension between the Pharisees and the Sadducees: and the multitude was divided.⁽¹¹⁾ 8. For the Sadducees say that there is no resurrection, neither angel, nor spirit: but the Pharisees confess both. 9. And there arose a great cry: and the scribes *that were* of the Pharisees' part arose, and strove, saying, We find no evil in this man: but if a spirit or an angel hath spoken to him, let us not fight against God.

ACTS 24:20, 21.

24:20. Or else let these same *here* say, if they have found any evil doing in me, while I stood before the council, 21. Except it be for this one voice, that I cried, standing among them, Touching the resurrection of the dead I am called in question by you this day.⁽¹⁰⁾

(8) Paul is brought "from his prison in the castle to the lower place where the Sanhedrin assembled. According to Jewish tradition, that body transferred its sittings at length from Gazith, an apartment in the inner temple, to a room on Mount Zion, near the bridge over the Tyropœon. It was here, probably, that the Council met at this time; for Lysias and his soldiers would not have presumed to enter the sacred part of the temple. The Romans conceded to the Jews the right of putting any foreigner to death who passed the forbidden limits." Hackett.

(9) Alford has summarized the several explanations which have been given of Paul's words, "I wist not, brethren, that he was the high priest" (v. 5). 1. "Ananias had usurped the office during a vacancy, and therefore was not recognized by Paul." But there is no evidence that the office was vacant. 2. "Paul, having been long absent, was really unacquainted with the person of the high priest." But his official seat and dress would have marked him among others in the Sanhedrin as the high priest. 3. The words are ironical: so Calvin and Meyer. "I could not be supposed to know that one who conducted himself so cruelly and illegally could be the high priest." But, says Hackett, "the sarcasm so covertly expressed would not have been readily understood, and the appeal to Scripture in that state of mind becomes unmeaning, not to say irreverent." 4. Paul did not recognize the high priest because of his imperfect sight. (So Farrar, Vol. I., Excursus X., and Alford.) This is based on the theory that Paul's "thorn in the flesh" was ophthalmia. 5. The words "I wist not" simply mean "I did not give it a thought," "I forgot." (So Neander, Bengel, Hackett.) This is the best ex-

planation. Paul was positively guilty of anger, "but what," says Hackett, "can surpass the grace with which he recovered his self-possession, the frankness with which he acknowledged his error? If his conduct in yielding* to the momentary impulse was not that of Christ himself under a similar provocation (John 18:22, 23), certainly the manner in which he atoned for his fault was *Christlike*."

(10) The selection from Acts 24:20, 21 is from Paul's address in reply to Tertullus.

(11) In the midst of the tumult Paul diverts the attention of his enemies from himself by turning the two parties of the Pharisees and the Sadducees upon each other. "Surely no defence of Paul for adopting this course is required," says Alford, "but all admiration is due to his skill and presence of mind. . . . All prospect of a fair trial was hopeless: he well knew from past and present experience that personal odium would bias his judges and violence prevail over justice: he therefore (Neander) uses in the cause of Truth the maxim so often perverted to the cause of Falsehood, '*divide et impera*.' In *one tenet* above all others did the religion of Jesus Christ and the belief of the Pharisees coincide, that of *the resurrection of the dead*. That *they* looked for this resurrection by right of being the seed of Abraham, and denied it to all others, whereas *he* looked for it through Jesus whom they hated, in whom *all* should be made alive who had died in Adam—this was *nothing to the present point*: the belief was common—in the truest sense it was *the hope of Israel*; in the truest sense does Paul use and bring it forward to confound the adversaries of Christ. At the same time (De Wette), by this strong assertion of his Pharisaic standing and extraction he was further still vindicating himself from the charge against him."

VI. PAUL IN THE CASTLE.

ACTS 23:10, 11.

23:10. And when there arose a great dissension, the chief captain, fearing lest Paul should have been pulled in pieces of them, commanded the soldiers to go down, and to take him by force from among them, and to bring *him* into the castle. 11. And the night following the Lord stood by him, and said, Be of good cheer, Paul: for as thou hast testified of me in Jerusalem, so must thou bear witness also at Rome.

VII. THE CONSPIRACY OF THE JEWS TO KILL PAUL.

I. THE PLOT AND ITS DISCOVERY.

ACTS 23:12-22.

23:12. And when it was day, certain of the Jews banded together, and bound themselves under a curse, saying that they would neither eat nor drink till they had killed Paul. 13. And they were more than forty which had made this conspiracy. 14. And they came to the chief priests and elders, and said, We have bound ourselves under a great curse, that we will eat nothing until we have slain Paul. 15. Now therefore ye with the council signify to the chief captain that he bring him down unto you to-morrow, as though ye would inquire something more perfectly concerning him: and we, or ever he come near, are ready to kill him. 16. And when Paul's sister's son

ACTS 23.

heard of their lying in wait, he went and entered into the castle, and told Paul. 17. Then Paul called one of the centurions unto *him*, and said, Bring this young man unto the chief captain: for he hath a certain thing to tell him. 18. So he took him, and brought *him* to the chief captain, and said, Paul the prisoner called me unto *him*, and prayed me to bring this young man unto thee, who hath something to say unto thee. 19. Then the chief captain took him by the hand, and went *with him* aside privately, and asked *him*, What is that thou hast to tell me? 20. And he said, The Jews have agreed to desire thee that thou wouldest bring down Paul to morrow into the council, as though they would inquire somewhat of him more perfectly. 21. But do not thou yield unto them: for there lie in wait for him of them more than forty men, which have bound themselves with an oath, that they will neither eat nor drink till they have killed him: and now are they ready, looking for a promise from thee. 22. So the chief captain *then* let the young man depart, and charged *him*, See thou tell no man that thou hast showed these things to me.

2. THE PLAN OF ESCAPE. LYSIAS' LETTER TO FELIX. THE JOURNEY TO CÆSAREA.

ACTS 23:23-33.

23:23. And he called unto *him* two centurions, saying, Make ready two hundred soldiers to go to Cæsarea, and horsemen threescore and ten, and spearmen two hundred, at the third hour of the night; 24. And provide *them* beasts, that they may set Paul on, and bring *him* safe unto Felix the governor. 25. And he wrote a letter after this manner: 26. Claudius Lysias unto the most excellent governor Felix *sendeth* greeting. 27. This man was taken of the Jews, and should have been killed of them: then came I with an army, and rescued him, having understood that he was a Roman. 28. And when I would have known the cause wherefore they accused him, I brought him forth into their council: 29. Whom I perceived to be accused of questions of their law, but to have nothing laid to his charge worthy of death or of bonds. 30. And when it was told me how that the Jews laid wait for the man, I sent straightway to thee, and gave commandment to his accusers also to say before thee what *they had* against him. Farewell. 31. Then the soldiers, as it was commanded them, took Paul, and brought *him* by night to Antipatris. 32. On the morrow they left the horsemen to go with him, and returned to the castle: [33. Who, when they came to Cæsarea, and delivered the epistle to the governor, presented Paul also before him.]

PART VII.

PAUL IN CÆSAREA.

TIME, 58-60 A. D., TWO YEARS.

I. PAUL'S CONFINEMENT IN HEROD'S JUDGMENT HALL.

II. PAUL BEFORE FELIX.

1. The argument of Tertullus.
2. Paul's reply. Felix suspends judgment.

III. PAUL BEFORE FELIX AND DRUSILLA.

IV. PAUL'S PRISON LIFE IN CÆSAREA. TIME, TWO YEARS.

V. PAUL'S TRIAL BEFORE FESTUS FIXED AT CÆSAREA.

VI. THE TRIAL BEFORE FESTUS. PAUL APPEALS TO CÆSAR.

VII. PAUL AND AGRIPPA.

1. Festus' preliminary conference with Agrippa.
2. Paul appears before Agrippa and Bernice. Festus' address to the King.
3. Paul's defence. His case is referred to Rome.

PART VII.

Paul in Cæsarea.

ACTS 23:31 TO 26:32.

I. PAUL'S CONFINEMENT IN HEROD'S JUDGMENT HALL.

ACTS 23:31-35.

23:[31. Then the soldiers, as it was commanded them, took Paul, and brought *him* by night to Antipatris. 32. On the morrow they left the horsemen to go with him, and returned to the castle:] 33. Who, when they came to Cæsarea, and delivered the epistle to the governor, presented Paul also before him. 34. And when the governor had read *the letter*, he asked of what province he was. And when he understood that *he was* of Cilicia, 35. I will hear thee, said he, when thine accusers are also come. And he commanded him to be kept in Herod's judgment hall.(1)

(1) The R. V. renders "I will hear thee" (v. 35) "I will hear thee fully." "The expression," says Hackett, "exhibits a singular conformity to the processes of Roman law. The rule was, 'Those who are sent with an elogium must be fully heard.' The governor of a province was not to give implicit credit to the document with which a prisoner was sent to him; he must institute an independent examination of the case for himself."

Herod's judgment hall was "in the palace built by him at Cæsarea, and now occupied as the residence of the Roman procurators. Paul was confined in some apartment of this edifice or within its precincts."

II. PAUL BEFORE FELIX.

I. THE ARGUMENT OF TERTULLUS.

ACTS. 24:1-9.

24:1. And after five days Ananias the high priest descended with the elders, and with a certain orator *named* Tertullus, who informed the governor against Paul.(2) 2. And when he was called forth, Tertullus began to accuse *him*, saying, Seeing that by thee we enjoy great quietness, and that very worthy deeds are done unto this nation by thy providence, 3. We accept *it* always, and in all places, most noble Felix, with all thankfulness. 4. Notwithstanding, that I be not further tedious unto thee, I pray thee that thou wouldest hear us of thy clemency a few words. 5. For we have found this man a pestilent *fellow*, and a mover of sedition among all the Jews throughout the world, and a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes: 6. Who also hath gone about to profane the temple: whom we took, and would have judged according to our law.(3)

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7. But the chief captain Lysias came *upon us*, and with great violence took *him* away out of our hands, 8. Commanding his accusers to come unto thee: by examining of whom thyself mayest take knowledge of all these things, whereof we accuse him. 9. And the Jews also assented, saying that these things were so.

(2) "As the people in the provinces," says Hackett, "were not acquainted with the forms of Roman law, they employed advocates to plead for them before the public tribunals. Tertullus was one of this class of men, and may have been a Roman or a Greek. It is not certain that 'the proceedings before Felix were conducted in Latin. In ancient times the Romans had attempted to enforce the use of Latin in all law-courts, but the experiment failed. Under the emperors trials were permitted in Greek, even in Rome itself, as well in the senate as in the forum; and it is unlikely that greater strictness should have been observed in a distant province.'"

From the outline given of the speech of Tertullus "he was evidently a practised pleader, and a voluble, plausible orator. Augustine says: 'Eloquence is the gift of God, but the eloquence of a bad man is like poison in a golden cup.' He commences with a fulsome and flattering compliment to Felix, which he certainly little deserved. . . . Next Tertullus apologizes for intruding even for a brief space upon the time and attention of the governor, and proceeds to make his charges against Paul, which were threefold: First, he accuses him of *sedition*, as being a pest in the community, a disturber of the peace, and one who excited factions among the Jews. The next count in the indictment was *heresy*; as being a ring-leader in the sect whom he contemptuously calls the Nazarenes—a term of reproach, here first used, which has been often applied to the followers of Christ. The last accusation was *sacrilege*; as going about to profane the temple—a serious charge, but utterly unfounded. Having thus made an orderly and formal indictment against the apostle, of *treason* against Rome, schism against Moses, and profanity against the gods, the clever and crafty advocate insinuates that the Sanhedrin would have judged Paul righteously had Lysias not interposed, and further gets the elders to assent to all he had stated." (Ormiston in Meyer, Acts, Amer. ed. pp. 450-451).

(3) The R. V. omits the words from "*and would have*" (ver. 6) to "*thee*" (ver. 8), and translates ver. 6-8 "Who moreover assayed to profane the temple: on whom also we laid hold: from whom thou wilt be able, by examining him thyself, to take knowledge of all these things, whereof we accuse him."

2. PAUL'S REPLY. FELIX SUSPENDS JUDGMENT.

ACTS 24:10-23.

24:10. Then Paul, after that the governor had beckoned unto him to speak, answered, Forasmuch as I know that thou hast been of many years a judge unto this nation, I do the more cheerfully answer for myself:(4) 11. Because that thou mayest understand, that there are but twelve days(5) since I went up to Jerusalem for to worship. 12. And they neither found me in the temple disputing with any man, neither raising up the people, neither in the synagogues, nor in the city: 13. Neither can they

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prove the things whereof they now accuse me. 14. But this I confess unto thee, that after the way which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers, believing all things which are written in the law and in the prophets: 15. And have hope toward God, which they themselves also allow, that there shall be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust. 16. And herein do I exercise myself, to have always a conscience void of offence toward God, and *toward* men. 17. Now after many years I came to bring alms to my nation, and offerings.⁽⁶⁾ 18. Whereupon certain Jews from Asia found me purified in the temple, neither with multitude, nor with tumult. 19. Who ought to have been here before thee, and object, if they had aught against me. 20. Or else let these same *here* say if they have found any evil doing in me, while I stood before the council, 21. Except it be for this one voice, that I cried standing among them, Touching the resurrection of the dead I am called in question by you this day. 22. And when Felix heard these things, having more perfect knowledge of *that* way, he deferred them, and said, When Lysias the chief captain shall come down, I will know the uttermost of your matter. 23. And he commanded a centurion to keep Paul, and to let *him* have liberty, and that he should forbid none of his acquaintance to minister or come unto him.

(4) In Paul's defence "he first states," says Ormiston, "that he could proceed with his defence more cheerfully and hopefully because, for so long a period, his judge had been cognizant of affairs in Judæa. He replies to each of the charges and refutes them in succession. He had not caused any disturbance of the public peace, or raised any opposition to the Roman law; he had only been a few days in the country, and he challenged any one to prove that he had said or done anything contrary to the law; he had excited no tumult in the temple, in the synagogues, or in the city. As to the charge of schism, he frankly avowed that after the way they called the *sect of the Nazarenes* he worshipped the God of his fathers, the God of the Jews. As Lange expresses it, 'By these words Paul maintains that, along with his Christian faith, he was a true Jew; for Christianity is the fulfilment and truth of Judaism.' As to the charge of polluting the temple, it was utterly baseless, as after an absence of years he had gone thither, had purified himself, for the purpose of presenting offerings, and had been guilty of no act of impropriety whatever; and he closed by challenging any member of the Sanhedrin present to say whether, when on trial before that council, any such accusation had been laid against him, and stated further that the only disturbance arose among themselves concerning the doctrine of the resurrection, which the majority of them believed in, as he did. The reply of the apostle was conclusive and triumphant, and he ought to have been acquitted at once, but Felix remanded him to jail for further examination." (Meyer's Com. Acts, p. 451.)

(5) The "twelve days" (ver. 11) Hackett computes as follows: "First, the day of the arrival at Jerusalem (21:17); second, the interview with James (21:18); third, the assumption of the vow (21:26); fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh, the vow continued, which was to have been kept seven days (being interrupted on the fifth); eighth, Paul before the Sanhedrin (22:30; 23:1-10); ninth, the plot of the Jews and the journey by night to Antipatris (23:12, 31); tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth, the days at Cæsarea (24:1), on the last of which the trial was then

taking place. The number of complete days, therefore, would be twelve, the day in progress at the time of speaking not being counted. The *five days* mentioned in ver. 1, above, agree with this computation, if, as suggested there, we reckon the day of leaving Jerusalem as the first of the five, and that of the arrival at Cæsarea as the last. So essentially Wetstein, Anger, Meyer, De Wette, and others."

(6) Ver. 17 contains the only mention in Acts that Paul had been collecting alms for the Christians in Judæa. We have seen, however, from his Epistles how prominent a place this work occupied in his life. (See pp. 97, 103-105.)

III. PAUL BEFORE FELIX AND DRUSILLA.⁽⁷⁾

ACTS 24:24-26.

24:24. And after certain days, when Felix came with his wife Drusilla, which was a Jewess, he sent for Paul, and heard him concerning the faith in Christ. 25. And as he reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come, Felix trembled, and answered, Go thy way for this time; when I have a convenient season, I will call for thee. [26. He hoped also that money should have been given him of Paul, that he might loose him: wherefore he sent for him the oftener, and communed with him.]

(7) "Luke does not inform us why Felix summoned Paul to this conference. We may infer, from the presence of Drusilla, that it was on her account. In all probability, it was to afford her an opportunity to see and hear so noted a leader of the Christian sect." Hackett. On the character of Felix and Drusilla see Conybeare and Howson, II., pp. 275, 286, and Farrar, II., pp. 336-345.

IV. PAUL'S PRISON LIFE IN CÆSAREA. Time, 2 years.

ACTS 23:34, 35; 24:22, 23, 25-27.

23:[34. And when the governor had read *the letter*, he asked of what province he was. And when he understood that *he was of Cilicia*:] 35. I will hear thee, said he, when thine accusers are also come. And he commanded him to be kept in Herod's judgment hall.⁽⁸⁾

24:[22. And when Felix heard these things, having more perfect knowledge of *that* way, he deferred them, and said, When Lysias the chief captain shall come down, I will know the uttermost of your matter.] 23. And he commanded a centurion to keep Paul, and to let *him* have liberty, and that he should forbid none of his acquaintance to minister or come unto him. [25. And as he reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come, Felix trembled, and answered.] Go thy way for this time; when I have a convenient season, I will call for thee. 26. He hoped also that money should have been given him of Paul, that he might loose him: wherefore he sent for him the oftener, and communed with him. 27. But after two years Porcius Festus came into Felix' room: and Felix, willing to show the Jews a pleasure, left Paul bound.⁽⁹⁾

(8) On Paul's arrival in Cæsarea he was taken to Herod's judgment hall, (Acts 23:35) where he was left for four or five days, till his trial before Felix. (Acts 24:1, p. 129). After that, Felix kept him in confinement in hope of receiving a bribe for his liberation, and when Festus came into power Felix left Paul bound, "to gain favor with the Jews" (R. V.), "as they had a right," says Hackett, "to follow him to Rome and complain of his administration, if they were dissatisfied with it." Paul was not imprisoned in a public jail as at Philippi, but "was given in

charge to a soldier, who was responsible with his own life for the safe keeping of his prisoner. This was further secured by chaining the prisoner's right hand to the soldier's left. The soldiers of course relieved one another in this duty. Their prisoner was usually kept in their barracks, but sometimes allowed to reside in a private house under their charge." In committing Paul to custody Felix commanded "that he should be treated with such indulgence as this kind of detention permitted. Josephus tells us that, when the severity of Agrippa's imprisonment at Rome was mitigated, his chain was relaxed at meal times. This illustrates the nature of the alleviations which such confinement admitted; and it is obvious that the centurion might render it more or less galling, according to his inclination, or the commands he had received. The most important alleviation of St. Paul's imprisonment consisted in the order, which Felix added, that his friends should be allowed free access to him." Conybeare and Howson, II., 288, 289. Luke and Aristarchus were probably with Paul while he was in Cæsarea, see Acts 27:2, note 2.

Meyer, Sabatier and others think that while Paul was imprisoned at Cæsarea he wrote Ephesians, Colossians and Philemon, and that Philippians was written during the Roman imprisonment. I have followed the more common view, that all four of these Epistles were written in Rome (see Appendix XV). For an interesting note on the effect of the Cæsarean captivity on Paul's later writings see Vincent: "Word Studies of the New Testament," Intro. to "The Epistles of the Imprisonment" (Vol. III., pp. 20-21), and Stalker (secs. 170-172).

(9) Festus succeeded Felix in the year 60 or 61. "The best recent authorities," says Hackett, "as Winer, De Wette, Anger, Meyer, Wieseler, adopt one or the other of these years. . . . It is the more important to settle as nearly as possible some epoch in this portion of the apostle's history, since there would be otherwise so much uncertainty as to the mode of arranging the events in the long interval between this and Paul's third journey to Jerusalem [A. D. 50]. Upon this date depends the year of the apostle's arrest in that city on his fifth and last visit thither, before he was sent to Rome. His captivity at Cæsarea, which followed that arrest, continued two years, and must have commenced in the spring of A. D. 58 or 59." Intro., pp. 22, 23.

V. PAUL'S TRIAL BEFORE FESTUS FIXED AT CÆSAREA.

ACTS 25:1-5.

25:1. Now when Festus was come into the province, after three days he ascended from Cæsarea to Jerusalem. 2. Then the high priest and the chief of the Jews informed him against Paul, and besought him, 3. And desired favor against him, that he would send for him to Jerusalem, laying wait in the way to kill him. 4. But Festus answered, that Paul should be kept at Cæsarea, and that he himself would depart shortly *thither*. 5. Let them therefore, said he, which among you are able, go down with *me*, and accuse this man, if there be any wickedness in him ⁽¹⁰⁾

(10) The R. V. renders v. 5, "Let them therefore, saith he, which are of power among you, go down with me." "Not as in E. V., those among you that are able

(to go down); but, the *powerful among you*; those who from their position and influence are best calculated to represent the public interests." Alford.

VI. THE TRIAL BEFORE FESTUS. PAUL APPEALS TO CÆSAR.

ACTS 25:6-12.

25:6. And when he had tarried among them more than ten days, he went down unto Cæsarea; and the next day sitting on the judgment seat commanded Paul to be brought. 7. And when he was come, the Jews which came down from Jerusalem stood round about, and laid many and grievous complaints against Paul, which they could not prove. 8. While he answered for himself, Neither against the law of the Jews, neither against the temple, nor yet against Cæsar, have I offended any thing at all. 9. But Festus, willing to do the Jews a pleasure, answered Paul, and said, Wilt thou go up to Jerusalem, and there be judged of these things before me? (11) 10. Then said Paul, I stand at Cæsar's judgment seat, where I ought to be judged: to the Jews have I done no wrong, as thou very well knowest. 11. For if I be an offender, or have committed any thing worthy of death, I refuse not to die: but if there be none of these things whereof these accuse me, no man may deliver me unto them. I appeal unto Cæsar. 12. Then Festus, when he had conferred with the council, answered, Hast thou appealed unto Cæsar? unto Cæsar shalt thou go. (12)

ACTS 28:17-19.

28:[17. And it came to pass, that after three days Paul called the chief of the Jews together: and when they were come together, he said unto them, Men and brethren, though I have committed nothing against the people, or customs of our fathers,] yet was I delivered prisoner from Jerusalem into the hands of the Romans: 18. Who, when they had examined me, would have let me go, because there was no cause of death in me. 19. But when the Jews spake against it, I was constrained to appeal unto Cæsar; not that I had aught to accuse my nation of.

(11) Festus asked Paul, "Wilt thou go up to Jerusalem, and there be judged of these things before me?" (v. 9.) "There are two views," says Hackett, "as to the import of this proposal. One is that Festus intended merely to transfer the trial from Cæsarea to Jerusalem, and the other is that he wished to change the jurisdiction in the case—to surrender Paul to the Jews and allow them to decide whether he was innocent or guilty. The explanation last stated agrees best with the intimations of the context. The reply of the apostle (*I stand*, etc., in v. 10), and the fact that he proceeds at once to place himself beyond the power of Festus, would appear to show that he regarded the question (*Wilt thou*, etc.) as tantamount to being deprived of his rights as a Roman citizen." Paul's reply is positive and firm. The Jews have no claim on him. He is standing at Cæsar's judgment-seat, *i. e.*, he is "under Roman jurisdiction, since Festus was the representative of the emperor." "As thou very well knowest" (v. 10) is a home-thrust. "After hearing the charges against Paul, and his reply to them, Festus knew that

the prisoner was entitled to be set free, instead of giving him up to a tribunal where his accusers were to be his judges. The temporizing Roman confesses in v. 18 that Paul was right in imputing to him such a violation of his convictions." Hackett.

In v. 11 Paul further vindicates himself. If he is guilty he will willingly suffer the penalty of guilt, but, if not, no man can deliver him into the power of his accusers. The dilemma here put by him is this, says Alford: "If I am guilty, it is not by them, but by Cæsar, that I must be (and am willing to be) tried, sentenced, and punished. If I am innocent, and Cæsar acquits me, then clearly none will be empowered to give me up to them: therefore, at all events, guilty or innocent, I am not to be made their victim."

(12) Festus "conferred with the council," which consisted of "the assessors or judges, who assisted him at the trial. It was customary for the proconsul, or his substitute, to choose a number of men whose office it was to aid him in the administration of justice. The proconsul himself presided, but was bound to consult his assessors, and to decide in accordance with the views of the majority. The subject of consultation in this instance, doubtless, was whether the appeal should be allowed or refused. Writers on Roman law inform us that the provincial magistrates had a certain discretionary power in this respect. An appeal to the emperor was not granted in every case. It was necessary to consider the nature of the accusation, and also the amount of evidence which supported it. Some offences were held to be so enormous as to exclude the exercise of this right; and when the crime was not of this character, the evidence of guilt might be so palpable as to demand an immediate and final decision." Hackett.

VII. PAUL AND AGRIPPA.

I. FESTUS' PRELIMINARY CONFERENCE WITH AGRIPPA.

ACTS 25: 13-22.

25:13. And after certain days king Agrippa and Bernice came unto Cæsarea to salute Festus. 14. And when they had been there many days, Festus declared Paul's cause unto the king, saying, There is a certain man left in bonds by Felix: 15. About whom, when I was at Jerusalem, the chief priests and the elders of the Jews informed me, desiring to have judgment against him. 16. To whom I answered, It is not the manner of the Romans to deliver any man to die, before that he which is accused have the accusers face to face, and have license to answer for himself concerning the crime laid against him.(13) 17. Therefore, when they were come hither, without any delay on the morrow I sat on the judgment seat, and commanded the man to be brought forth. 18. Against whom, when the accusers stood up, they brought none accusation of such things as I supposed: 19. But had certain questions against him of their own superstition, and of one Jesus, which was dead, whom Paul affirmed to be alive. 20. And because I doubted of such manner of questions, I asked him whether he would go to Jerusalem, and there be judged of these matters. 21. But when Paul had appealed to be reserved unto the hearing of Augustus, I commanded him to be kept till I might send him to Cæsar. 22. Then Agrippa said unto Festus, I would also hear the man myself. To morrow, said he, thou shalt hear him.

(13) V. 16 gives the answer that Festus made to Paul's accusers. "In v. 3," says Hackett, "the request of the Jews was that Paul might be brought to Jerusalem; and in that case the accusers and the accused would have met face to face. Hence the reply of Festus here, in order to warrant his objection, must relate to a different proposal; viz., that he would condemn Paul at once (see v. 24) and in his absence. On his declaring that as a Roman magistrate he could not be guilty of such injustice, the Jews, as it would seem, changed their tactics. If it was so that the parties must confront each other, they asked then that he would summon the prisoner to Jerusalem and have him tried there. But this second request was a mere pretence. They knew the weakness of their cause too well to await the result of a trial, and wanted only to secure an opportunity to waylay and kill the apostle on the road. The two proposals may have been made at different times, so that in the interval they could have begun the ambushade (as intimated in v. 3), believing that, though baffled in the first attempt, they could not fail in the second."

Festus says that he was in doubt about some of the religious questions involved in the charges against Paul, and therefore he asked him to have his case decided in Jerusalem (v. 20). His real reason is given in v. 9, that he desired "to gain favor with the Jews" (R. V.). "This he now conceals," says Alford, "and alleges his *modesty* in referring such matters to the judgment of the Jews themselves. This would be pleasing to his guest Agrippa."

2. PAUL APPEARS BEFORE AGRIPPA AND BERNICE. FESTUS' ADDRESS TO THE KING.

ACTS 25:23-27.

25:23. And on the morrow, when Agrippa was come, and Bernice, with great pomp, and was entered into the place of hearing, with the chief captains,⁽¹⁴⁾ and principal men of the city, at Festus' commandment Paul was brought forth. 24. And Festus said, King Agrippa, and all men which are here present with us, ye see this man, about whom all the multitude of the Jews have dealt with me, both at Jerusalem, and *also* here, crying that he ought not to live any longer. 25. But when I found that he had committed nothing worthy of death, and that he himself hath appealed to Augustus, I have determined to send him. 26. Of whom I have no certain thing to write unto my lord. Wherefore I have brought him forth before you, and specially before thee, O king Agrippa, that, after examination had, I might have somewhat to write. 27. For it seemeth to me unreasonable to send a prisoner, and not withal to signify the crimes *laid* against him.⁽¹⁵⁾

(14) "The chief captains" (v. 23) "were," says Alford, "the tribunes of the cohorts stationed at Cæsarea. Stier remarks, 'Yet more and more complete must the giving of the testimony in these parts be before the witness departs for Rome. In Jerusalem, the long-suffering of the Lord towards the rejectors of the gospel was now exhausted. In Antioch, the residence of the Præses of Syria, the new mother church of Jewish and Gentile Christians was flourishing; here, in Cæsarea, the residence of the procurator, the testimony which had begun in the house of

Cornelius the centurion had now risen upward, till it comes before this brilliant assembly of all the local authorities, in the presence of the last king of the Jews.' "

Compare on the whole scene Conybeare and Howson, Vol. II., pp. 294-298, and Farrar, Vol. II., pp. 351-361.

(15) "In such cases of appeal," says Hackett, "it was necessary to transmit to the emperor a written account of the offence charged as having been committed, and also of all the judicial proceedings that may have taken place in relation to it. Documents of this description were called *apostoli*, or *litera dimissoria*."

It seemed "unreasonable" to Festus to send a prisoner without specifying the crimes of which he was accused. "It was illegal too; but Festus thinks of the act as being a violation, not so much of the law as of the propriety which dictated the law. . . . Josephus describes Festus as a reasonable man, who was not destitute of a regard for justice and the laws, and who approved himself to such of the Jews as were willing to submit to any foreign rule. What Luke relates of him shows him to be worthy of this encomium." Hackett.

3. PAUL'S DEFENCE. HIS CASE IS REFERRED TO ROME.

ACTS 26:1-32.

26:1. Then Agrippa said unto Paul, Thou art permitted to speak for thyself. Then Paul stretched forth the hand, and answered for himself: (16) 2. I think myself happy, king Agrippa, because I shall answer for myself this day before thee touching all the things whereof I am accused of the Jews: 3. Especially *because I know* thee to be expert in all customs and questions which are among the Jews: wherefore I beseech thee to hear me patiently. 4. My manner of life from my youth, which was at the first among mine own nation at Jerusalem, know all the Jews; 5. Which knew me from the beginning, if they would testify, that after the most straitest sect of our religion I lived a Pharisee. 6. And now I stand and am judged for the hope of the promise made of God unto our fathers: 7. Unto which *promise* our twelve tribes, instantly serving *God* day and night, hope to come. For which hope's sake, king Agrippa, I am accused of the Jews. 8. Why should it be thought a thing incredible with you, that God should raise the dead? 9. I verily thought with myself that I ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth. 10. Which thing I also did in Jerusalem: and many of the saints did I shut up in prison, having received authority from the chief priests; and when they were put to death, I gave my voice against *them*. 11. And I punished them oft in every synagogue, and compelled *them* to blaspheme; and being exceedingly mad against them, I persecuted *them* even unto strange cities. 12. Whereupon as I went to Damascus with authority and commission from the chief priests, 13. At midday, O king, I saw in the way a light from heaven, above the brightness of the sun, shining round about me and them which journeyed with me. 14. And when we were all fallen to the earth, I heard a voice speaking unto me, and saying in the Hebrew tongue, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? *it is* hard for thee to kick against the pricks. 15. And I said, Who art thou, Lord? And he said, I am Jesus whom thou persecutest. 16. But rise, and stand upon thy feet: for I have appeared unto thee for this purpose, to make thee a minister and a witness both of these things which thou hast seen, and of those things in the which I will appear unto thee; 17. Delivering thee from the people, and *from* the Gentiles, unto whom now I send thee, 18. To open their eyes, *and* to turn them from darkness to light, and *from* the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith that is in me. 19. Whereupon, O king Agrippa, I was not disobedient unto the heavenly vision:

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20. But showed first unto them of Damascus, and at Jerusalem, and throughout all the coasts of Judea, and *then* to the Gentiles, that they should repent and turn to God, and do works meet for repentance. 21. For these causes the Jews caught me in the temple, and went about to kill *me*. 22. Having therefore obtained help of God, I continue until this day, witnessing both to small and great, saying none other things than those which the prophets and Moses did say should come: 23. That Christ should suffer, *and* that he should be the first that should rise from the dead, and should show light unto the people, and to the Gentiles. 24. And as he thus spake for himself, Festus said with a loud voice, Paul, thou art beside thyself: much learning doth make thee mad.⁽¹⁷⁾ 25. But he said, I am not mad, most noble Festus; but speak forth the words of truth and soberness. 26. For the king knoweth of these things, before whom also I speak freely: for I am persuaded that none of these things are hidden from him; for this thing was not done in a corner. 27. King Agrippa, believest thou the prophets? I know that thou believest. 28. Then Agrippa said unto Paul, Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian.⁽¹⁸⁾ 29. And Paul said, I would to God, that not only thou, but also all that hear me this day, were both almost and altogether such as I am, except these bonds. 30. And when he had thus spoken, the king rose up, and the governor, and Bernice, and they that sat with them: 31. And when they were gone aside, they talked between themselves, saying, This man doeth nothing worthy of death or of bonds. 32. Then said Agrippa unto Festus, This man might have been set at liberty, if he had not appealed unto Cæsar.⁽¹⁹⁾

(16) "This speech of the apostle is similar to that which he delivered on the stairs of the castle (22 : 1, seq.). The main topic is the same in each—*viz.* the wonderful circumstances of his conversion; but in this instance he recounts them, not so much for the purpose of asserting his personal innocence as of vindicating the divine origin of his commission and the truth of the message proclaimed by him. So far from admitting that he had been unfaithful to Judaism, he claims that his Christian faith realized the true idea of the religion taught in the Old Testament. On the former occasion 'he addressed the infuriated populace and made his defence against the charges with which he was hotly pressed—of profaning the temple and apostatizing from the Mosaic law. He now passes by these accusations, and, addressing himself to a more intelligent and dispassionate hearer, he takes the highest ground, and holds himself up as the apostle and messenger of God. With this view, therefore, he paints in more striking colors the awful scene of his conversion, and repeats more minutely that heavenly call which was impossible for him to disobey (ver. 19), and in obeying which, though he incurred the displeasure of his countrymen (ver. 21), he continued to receive the divine support (ver. 22).'" Hackett.

Compare also Alford on ver. 8 and Howson's "The Evidential Value of the Acts of the Apostles" (pp. 110-112).

On the variations in the accounts of Paul's conversion see Appendix I.

(17) "*Thus*," ver. 24 (lit. "as he spake *these things*"), refers to the last words just spoken by Paul; "but it is not necessary," says Alford, "to suppose that *these only* produced the effect described on Festus. Mr. Humphrey remarks, 'Festus was probably not so well acquainted as his predecessor (Acts 24 : 10) with the character of the nation over which he had recently been called to preside. Hence he avails

himself of Agrippa's assistance (25 : 26). Hence, also, he is unable to comprehend the earnestness of St. Paul, so unlike the indifference with which religious and moral subjects were regarded by the upper classes at Rome. His self-love suggests to him that one who presents such a contrast to his own apathy must be mad: the convenient hypothesis that much learning had produced this result may have occurred to him on hearing Paul quote prophecies in proof of his assertions.' . . . Meyer understands Festus in the words 'much learning' to allude to the many rolls which Paul had with him in his imprisonment (we might compare 'the books, especially the parchments' of 2 Tim. 4 : 13) and studied—but the ordinary interpretation, *thy much learning*, seems more natural."

(18) The R. V. renders vv. 28, 29 correctly. "And Agrippa said unto Paul, With but little persuasion [margin : 'in a little time'] thou wouldest fain make me a Christian. And Paul said, I would to God, that whether with little or with much [margin : 'both in little and in great,' *i. e.*, in all respects], not thou only, but also all that hear me this day, might become such as I am, except these bonds."

"That the words of the king," says Meyer, "are to be taken *ironically*, and not, with Heinrichs and many other expositors, as an *earnest* confession, is evident even from the very improbability in itself of such a confession in view of the luxurious levity of the king, as well as from the name 'Christian,' which, of *Gentile* origin, carries with it in the mouth of a *Jew* the accessory idea of heterodoxy and the stain of contempt." The scene is graphically pictured. In his speech Paul had been interrupted by Festus, who charged him with being mad. "Paul with perfect calmness and exquisite courtesy replies, 'I am not mad, most noble Festus; what I have said is the sober, well-attested truth, as the king himself can witness, for these marked events did not take place in a corner.' Then turning to the king he asked, 'Believest thou the prophets? I know that thou believest.' Agrippa, unwilling to be led into a discussion of this kind, replied with good-natured contempt, a scarcely suppressed smile, and a courtly wit, perhaps with derisive irony, 'You will soon be making me a *Christian*!' Paul, casting his eye over the splendid and numerous audience, gave a most earnest and sincere reply to the bantering jest of the king. Raising his manacled hand he said: 'I would to God, both in little and in much, not only thee, but also all those hearing me to-day, to become such as I also am, except these bonds.'" Ormiston in Meyer, Acts, p. 474.

(19) At the conclusion of Paul's defence Agrippa and Festus confer with each other and conclude that Paul had done nothing worthy of death or even of imprisonment, and Agrippa gives as his judgment that "this man might have been set at liberty, if he had not appealed unto Cæsar." "As the appeal had been accepted, it could not be withdrawn, even with the consent of the parties. The procurator had now lost the control of the case, and had no more power to acquit the prisoner than to condemn him. One effect of Agrippa's decision may have been that Festus modified his report, and commended Paul to the clemency of the court at Rome." Hackett.

PART VIII.

PAUL'S JOURNEY FROM CÆSAREA TO ROME.

TIME, AUTUMN OF 60—SPRING OF 61 A. D.

I. PAUL, LUKE AND ARISTARCHUS SAIL TO CRETE.

CÆSAREA.

SIDON.

"Under" CYPRUS.

MYRA.

"Over against" CNIDUS.

CRETE.

"Over against" SALMONE.

FAIR HAVENS.

[LASEA.]

[PHENICE.]

II. THE STORM.

"Under" CLAUDA.

III. THE SHIPWRECK AND THE ESCAPE TO LAND.

IV. IN MELITA.

Paul's Miracles. Time, Three Months.

V. SYRACUSE, three days.

RHEGIUM, one day.

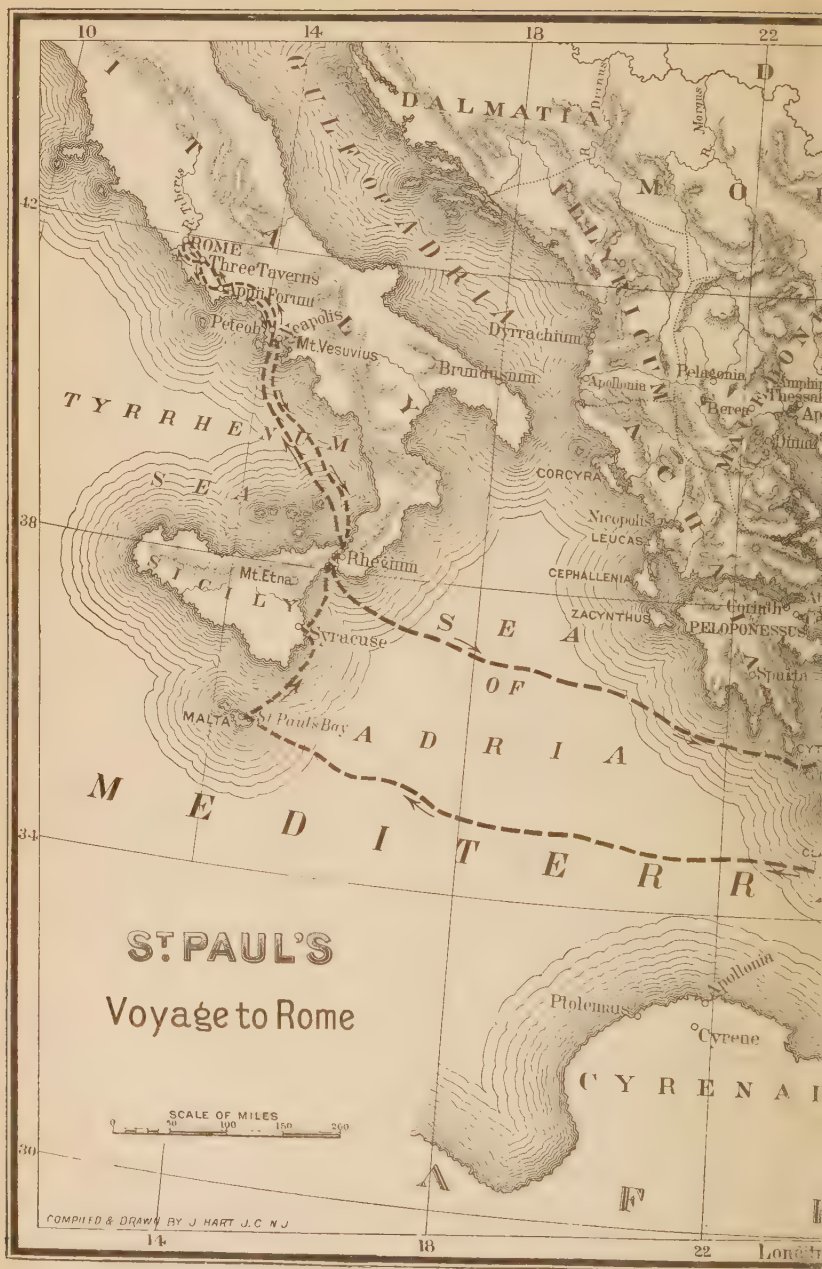
PUTEOLI, seven days.

APII FORUM,

THE THREE TAVERNS,

ROME.

} Paul met by Christians from Rome.





PART VIII.

Paul's Journey from Cæsarea to Rome.

ACTS 27 : 1 TO 28 : 16.

I. PAUL, LUKE AND ARISTARCHUS SAIL TO CRETE.

ACTS 27 : 1-13.

27:1. And when it was determined that we should sail into Italy, they delivered Paul and certain other prisoners unto *one* named Julius, a centurion of Augustus' band.⁽¹⁾ 2. And entering into a ship of Adramyttium, we launched, meaning to sail by the coasts of Asia; *one* Aristarchus, a Macedonian of Thessalonica, being with us.⁽²⁾ 3. And the next *day* we touched at Sidon. And Julius courteously entreated Paul, and gave *him* liberty to go unto his friends to refresh himself. 4. And when we had launched from thence, we sailed under Cyprus, because the winds were contrary. 5. And when we had sailed over the sea of Cilicia and Pamphylia, we came to Myra, *a city* of Lycia. 6. And there the centurion found a ship of Alexandria sailing into Italy; and he put us therein. 7. And when we had sailed slowly many days, and scarce were come over against Cnidus, the wind not suffering us, we sailed under Crete, over against Salmone; 8. And, hardly passing it, came unto a place which is called the Fair Havens; nigh whereunto was the city of Lasæa. 9. Now when much time was spent, and when sailing was now dangerous, because the fast was now already past, Paul admonished *them*, 10. And said unto them, Sirs, I perceive that this voyage will be with hurt and much damage, not only of the lading and ship, but also of our lives. 11. Nevertheless the centurion believed the master and the owner of the ship, more than those things which were spoken by Paul. 12. And because the haven was not commodious to winter in, the more part advised to depart thence also, if by any means they might attain to Phenice, *and there* to winter; *which is* an haven of Crete, and lieth toward the southwest and northwest. 13. And when the south wind blew softly, supposing that they had obtained *their* purpose, loosing *thence*, they sailed close by Crete.

(1) For the geographical and nautical information on Paul's voyage to Rome see "The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul" by James Smith; Hackett on Acts 27 : 1-28 : 15; Conybeare and Howson, Vol. II., pp. 299-353; Farrar, Vol. II., pp. 362-382; Lewin, Vol. II., pp. 181-226.

"The statement here [v. 1]," says Hackett, "that not only Paul, but certain other prisoners, were sent by the same ship into Italy, implies, as Paley remarks, after Lardner, that the sending of persons from Judæa to be tried at Rome was a common practice. Josephus confirms this intimation by a variety of instances. Among others he mentions the following, which is the more pertinent as it took place about this time. 'Felix,' he says, 'for some slight offence *bound and sent to Rome* several priests of his acquaintance, honorable and good men, to answer for themselves to Cæsar.'"

Julius is one of the centurions who are invariably spoken of in the New Testament as men of noble character. His kindness to Paul is marked throughout all the voyage to Rome. See an interesting study in Howson's "Companions of St. Paul," Chap. VIII.

(2) Paul had with him Luke and Aristarchus. "We" (v. 1) shows the presence of the writer of Acts. The expression was last used in 21:18. Hackett. *Aristarchus* is the one "named in 19:29; 20:4. Our English translators speak of him, very strangely, as '*one* Aristarchus,' as if he were otherwise unknown. That he accompanied Paul to Rome appears also from Philem. 24; Col. 4:10, which Epistles the apostle wrote while in that city. In the latter passages he terms Aristarchus *fellow-prisoner*, which, if taken literally, would lead us to suppose that he too had been apprehended and was now sent as a prisoner to Rome. But in Philem. 24 he is called merely *fellow-laborer*, and hence it is more probable that he went with the apostle of his own accord, and that he received the other appellation merely as a commendatory one, because by such devotion to him he had thus made Paul's captivity as it were his own. This is the general opinion of critics. We have every reason to suppose that Luke also went as the voluntary companion of the apostle." Hackett. See also on Col. 4:10 for Lightfoot's view of the later life of Aristarchus.

II. THE STORM.

ACTS 27:14-38.

27:14. But not long after there arose against it a tempestuous wind, called Euroclydon. 15. And when the ship was caught, and could not bear up into the wind, we let her drive. 16. And running under a certain island which is called Clauda, we had much work to come by the boat: 17. Which when they had taken up, they used helps, undergirding the ship; and, fearing lest they should fall into the quicksands, strake sail, and so were driven. 18. And we being exceedingly tossed with a tempest, the next day they lightened the ship; 19. And the third day we cast out with our own hands the tackling of the ship. 20. And when neither sun nor stars in many days appeared, and no small tempest lay on us, all hope that we should be saved was then taken away. 21. But after long abstinence, Paul stood forth in the midst of them, and said, Sirs, ye should have hearkened unto me, and not have loosed from Crete, and to have gained this harm and loss. 22. And now I exhort you to be of good cheer: for there shall be no loss of *any man's* life among you, but of the ship. 23. For there stood by me this night the angel of God, whose I am, and whom I serve, 24. Saying, Fear not, Paul; thou must be brought before Cæsar: and, lo, God hath given thee all them that sail with thee. 25. Wherefore, sirs, be of good cheer: for I believe God, that it shall be even as it was told me. 26. Howbeit we must be cast upon a certain island. 27. But when the fourteenth night was come, as we were driven up and down in Adria, about midnight the shipmen deemed that they drew near to some country; 28. And sounded, and found *it* twenty fathoms: and when they had gone a little further they sounded again, and found *it* fifteen fathoms. 29. Then fearing lest we should have fallen upon rocks, they cast four anchors out of the stern, and wished for the day. 30. And as the shipmen were about to flee out of the ship, when they had let down the boat into the sea, under color as though they would have cast anchors out of the foreship, 31. Paul said to the centurion and to the soldiers, Except these abide in the ship, ye cannot be saved. 32. Then

ACTS 27.

the soldiers cut off the ropes of the boat, and let her fall off. 33. And while the day was coming on, Paul besought *them* all to take meat, saying, This day is the fourteenth day that ye have tarried and continued fasting, having taken nothing. 34. Wherefore I pray you to take *some* meat; for this is for your health: for there shall not a hair fall from the head of any of you. 35. And when he had thus spoken, he took bread, and gave thanks to God in presence of them all; and when he had broken *it*, he began to eat. 36. Then were they all of good cheer, and they also took *some* meat. 37. And we were in all in the ship two hundred threescore and sixteen souls. 38. And when they had eaten enough, they lightened the ship, and cast out the wheat into the sea.

III. THE SHIPWRECK AND THE ESCAPE TO LAND.

ACTS 27:39-44.

27:39. And when it was day, they knew not the land: but they discovered a certain creek with a shore, into the which they were minded, if it were possible, to thrust in the ship. 40. And when they had taken up the anchors, they committed *themselves* unto the sea, and loosed the rudder bands, and hoised up the mainsail to the wind, and made toward shore. 41. And falling into a place where two seas met, they ran the ship aground; and the forepart stuck fast, and remained unmoveable, but the hinder part was broken with the violence of the waves. 42. And the soldiers' counsel was to kill the prisoners, lest any of them should swim out and escape. 43. But the centurion, willing to save Paul, kept them from *their* purpose; and commanded that they which could swim should cast *themselves* first into the sea, and get to land: 44. And the rest, some on boards, and some on *broken pieces* of the ship. And so it came to pass, that they escaped all safe to land.(8)

(3) "This was not the first peril of the kind from which the apostle had been delivered. In 2 Cor. 11:25 he says, 'Thrice I suffered shipwreck, a night and a day have I spent in the deep;' and he recorded that statement several years before the present disaster. Meyer says, 'This shipwreck was at least the *fourth* (2 Cor. 11:25) which Paul suffered.'" Hackett.

Where these other shipwrecks are to be placed in Paul's life cannot be decided. Alford conjectures that one of them may have occurred on the way from Cæsarea to Tarsus (Acts 9:30), and another during the voyage from Ephesus to Macedonia (Acts 20:1). See Proleg. 1 Cor., pp. 53, 54.

IV. IN MELITA. PAUL'S MIRACLES.

Time, Three Months.

ACTS 28:1-10.

28:1. And when they were escaped, then they knew that the island was called Melita. 2. And the barbarous people showed us no little kindness: for they kindled a fire, and received us every one, because of the present rain, and because of the cold. 3. And when Paul had gathered a bundle of sticks, and laid *them* on the fire, there came a viper out of the heat, and fastened on his hand. 4. And when the barbarians saw the *venomous* beast hang on his hand, they said among themselves, No doubt this man is a murderer, whom, though he hath escaped the sea, yet vengeance suffereth not to live. 5. And he shook off the beast into the fire, and felt no harm. 6. Howbeit they looked when he should have swollen, or fallen down dead suddenly: but after they had looked

ACTS 28.

a great while, and saw no harm come to him, they changed their minds, and said that he was a god. 7. In the same quarters were possessions of the chief man of the island, whose name was Publius; who received us, and lodged us three days courteously. 8. And it came to pass that the father of Publius lay sick of a fever and of a bloody flux: to whom Paul entered in, and prayed, and laid his hands on him, and healed him. 9. So when this was done, others also, which had diseases in the island, came, and were healed: 10. Who also honored us with many honors; and when we departed, they laded us with such things as were necessary.

V. FROM MELITA TO ROME. AT APPII FORUM AND THE
THREE TAVERNS PAUL IS MET BY CHRISTIANS
FROM ROME.

ACTS 28: 11-16.

28: 11. And after three months we departed in a ship of Alexandria, which had wintered in the isle, whose sign was Castor and Pollux. 12. And landing at Syracuse, we tarried there three days. 13. And from thence we fetched a compass, and came to Rhegium: and after one day the south wind blew, and we came the next day to Puteoli: 14. Where we found brethren, and were desired to tarry with them seven days: and so we went toward Rome. 15. And from thence, when the brethren heard of us, they came to meet us as far as Appii Forum, and the Three Taverns; whom when Paul saw, he thanked God, and took courage.(4) 16. And when we came to Rome, [the centurion delivered the prisoners to the captain of the guard: but Paul was suffered to dwell by himself with a soldier that kept him].

[The narrative in the Acts continues on p. 153]

(4) On the journey from Melita to Rome see Conybeare and Howson, Vol. II., p. 347-365; Farrar, Vol. II., pp. 385-389.

That there were Christians in Rome at this time is seen from the fact that "the brethren" (v. 15) came from Rome to meet Paul on his way to the city, at "The Market of Appius" and "The Three Taverns." The origin and nature of the Roman church is discussed in Appendix XIV.

Paul's arrival in Rome, says Hackett, "could not have been later than the year 62; for after 64, when the Christians at Rome began to be persecuted by the Roman Government, their situation was such that the apostle could not have remained there and preached the gospel for two years without molestation, as stated by Luke at the end of the Acts. It is impossible to obtain a more definite result than this from secular history. . . . It is evident from the Acts that Paul proceeded to Rome almost immediately after the entrance of Festus on his office; and if this took place in A. D. 60 or 61, he must have arrived in Rome early in the spring of 61 or 62. Hence, if he arrived even in A. D. 62, he could have remained two years in captivity and then have regained his freedom (if we adopt that opinion), since Nero's persecution of the Christians did not commence till the summer of A. D. 64." (Intro., p. 23.)

PART IX.

PAUL'S FIRST ROMAN CAPTIVITY.

TIME, 61-63 A. D. 2 YEARS.

I. THE PERSONNEL OF THE ROMAN CHURCH.

II. PAUL'S FIRST ROMAN CAPTIVITY, ACCORDING TO ACTS 28 : 16-31.

1. Paul meets the chief Jews of Rome.
 - (a) The first meeting.
 - (b) The second meeting.
2. Paul lives two years in his own hired house, guarded by a Roman soldier.

III. PAUL'S FIRST ROMAN CAPTIVITY, ACCORDING TO PHILE- MON, COLOSSIANS, EPHESIANS AND PHILIPPIANS.

1. Paul is a prisoner.
2. Paul's expectation of release.
3. Paul's companions.
 - (a) Timothy.
 - (b) Epaphras. His visit to Rome occasions the writing of Colossians, 61 or 62 A. D.
 - (c) Onesimus and Tychicus. Onesimus is made the bearer of The Epistle to Philemon, 61 or 62 A. D. Tychicus delivers The Epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians, 61 or 62 A. D.
 - (d) Marcus, Aristarchus, Demas, Luke, Jesus (Justus).

(e) Epaphroditus. He brings a gift from the Philippians, and is made the bearer of The Epistle to the Philippians, 63 A. D.

4. Paul's preaching.
5. Paul's faith, and joy in suffering.
6. Paul's love and care for the churches.
7. Paul's warnings against the Judaizers.

PART IX.

Paul's First Roman Captivity.

AUTHORITIES : ACTS (28 : 14-31), ROMANS, PHILEMON, COLOSSIANS,
EPHESIANS, PHILIPPIANS.

I. THE PERSONNEL OF THE ROMAN CHURCH.⁽¹⁾

ACTS 28:13-15.

28:[13. And from thence we fetched a compass, and came to Rhegium: and after one day the south wind blew, and we came the next day to Puteoli: 14. Where we found brethren, and were desired to tarry with them seven days:] and so we went toward Rome. 15. And from thence, when the brethren heard of us, they came to meet us as far as Appii Forum, and the Three Taverns; whom when Paul saw, he thanked God, and took courage.

ROM. 16:3-15.

16:3. Greet Priscilla and Aquila, my helpers in Christ Jesus:(2) 4. Who have for my life laid down their own necks: unto whom not only I give thanks, but also all the churches of the Gentiles. 5. Likewise greet the church that is in their house. Salute my well beloved Epenetus, who is the firstfruits of Achaia unto Christ. 6. Greet Mary, who bestowed much labor on us. 7. Salute Andronicus and Junia, my kinsmen, and my fellow prisoners, who are of note among the apostles, who also were in Christ before me. 8. Greet Amplias, my beloved in the Lord. 9. Salute Urbane, our helper in Christ, and Stachys my beloved. 10. Salute Apelles approved in Christ. Salute them which are of Aristobulus' household. 11. Salute Herodion my kinsman. Greet them that be of the household of Narcissus, which are in the Lord. 12. Salute Tryphena and Tryphosa, who labor in the Lord. Salute the beloved Persis, which labored much in the Lord. 13. Salute Rufus chosen in the Lord, and his mother and mine. 14. Salute Asyncritus, Phlegon, Hermas, Patrobas, Hermes, and the brethren which are with them. 15. Salute Philologus, and Julia, Nereus, and his sister, and Olympas, and all the saints which are with them.

(1) The origin of the church which Paul found in Rome I have discussed in Appendix XIV. It cannot be said that all the persons to whom Paul sent

salutations in his Epistle to the Romans (16: 3-15), written in 58 A. D., were in Rome when he arrived there three years later, but the list gives the probable personnel of the Roman church which, after the lapse of so short a time, must have been substantially what it was when Paul wrote his Epistle.

Paul found the Roman Church, says Lightfoot, "a mixed community of Jew and Gentile converts, founded, it would seem, partly by his own companions and disciples, partly by teachers commissioned directly from Palestine and imbued with the strongest prejudices of their race; a heterogeneous mass, with diverse feelings and sympathies, with no well-defined organization, with no other bond of union than the belief in a common Messiah; gathering, we may suppose, for purposes of worship in small knots here and there, as close neighborhood or common nationality or sympathy or accident drew them together; but, as a body, lost in the vast masses of the heathen population, and only faintly discerned or contemptuously ignored even by the large community of Jewish residents Of the fact that the primitive church of the metropolis before and after St. Paul's visit was chiefly Greek, there is satisfactory evidence. The salutations in the Roman letter contain very few but Greek names, and even the exceptions hardly imply the Roman birth of their possessors The Greeks were the most energetic, as they were also the most intelligent and inquiring, of the middle classes in Rome at this time. The successful tradesmen, the skilled artisans, the confidential servants and retainers of noble houses—almost all the activity and enterprise of the common people, whether for good or for evil—were Greek From this rank in life, from the middle and lower classes of society, it seems probable that the Church drew her largest reinforcements. The members of the Roman Church saluted in St. Paul's Epistle could assuredly boast no aristocratic descent, whether from the proud patrician or the equally proud plebeian families." Phil. Intro., pp. 13, 19, 20.

(2) Out of this long list of Roman Christians only three are otherwise known: Aquila, Priscilla, and Rufus. *Aquila* and *Priscilla* have appeared prominently in Paul's life (see note, p. 77). "Salute *Rufus*" (ver. 13). "The following words: 'his mother and mine,' prove that Paul was united to this family by the closest ties—that he had even lived in it. And if we remember that Mark, writing his Gospel at Rome, was pleased to designate Simon of Cyrene, who carried the cross of Jesus, as 'the father of Alexander and *Rufus*' (Mark 15: 21), we shall be naturally led to hold that this family had removed from Jerusalem to Rome, where Rufus occupied a distinguished place in the church. It was, therefore, during the years of his youth, when he was studying at Jerusalem, that Paul had lived in the bosom of this family, and had enjoyed the motherly care of Simon's wife." Godet.

The R. V. renders "The first-fruits of Achaia" (ver. 5), "The first-fruits of Asia." "*Epenetus* is to us an unknown personage. According to the Received reading, he would be the first convert of Achaia, consequently a native of Corinth, which could hardly be reconciled with 1 Cor. 16: 15. This reading probably arises

from the copyist thinking that Paul meant to speak of the country from which he was writing. The true reading is certainly *of Asia*." Godet.

"The three women, ver. 12, perhaps deaconesses, are otherwise unknown. Note how *Persis* is *distinguished* above the two previously named women; as also, how delicately Paul has not added 'my' after 'the beloved,' as with the men's names, vers. 8, 9, although he means *his* sentiment of love towards Persis." Meyer.

"The last words of both of the verses, 14 and 15: *and the brethren who are with them*, prove that the persons just named are so, not simply as believers, but as directors of a whole assembly which is accustomed to meet around them. They lived, no doubt, in different quarters, and formed, besides the group which met in the house of Aquila, two distinct assemblies." Godet.

For a discussion of the question whether some of those named in Rom. 16 may not have been members of "Cæsar's household," see Lightfoot, Phil., note "Cæsar's Household," pp. 171-178.

II. PAUL'S FIRST ROMAN CAPTIVITY, ACCORDING TO ACTS 28 : 16-31.

I. PAUL MEETS THE CHIEF JEWS OF ROME.

(a) THE FIRST MEETING.

ACTS 28 : 16-22.

28:16. And when we came to Rome, the centurion delivered the prisoners to the captain of the guard: but Paul was suffered to dwell by himself with a soldier that kept him. 17. And it came to pass, that after three days Paul called the chief of the Jews together: and when they were come together, he said unto them, Men *and* brethren, though I have committed nothing against the people, or customs of our fathers, yet was I delivered prisoner from Jerusalem into the hands of the Romans: 18. Who, when they had examined me, would have let *me* go, because there was no cause of death in me. 19. But when the Jews spake against *it*, I was constrained to appeal unto Cæsar; not that I had aught to accuse my nation of. 20. For this cause therefore have I called for you, to see *you*, and to speak with *you*: because that for the hope of Israel I am bound with this chain. 21. And they said unto him, We neither received letters out of Judæa concerning thee, neither any of the brethren that came showed or spake any harm of thee. 22. But we desire to hear of thee what thou thinkest: for as concerning this sect, we know that every where it is spoken against.(3)

(3) It seems strange that, if a church really existed in Rome when Paul had his interview with the chief Jews of the city, they should have made no mention of any such congregation, and expressed themselves as having only a superficial knowledge of Christians in general, saying, "For as concerning this sect, we know that everywhere it is spoken against" (ver. 22). The Jews were not dishonest or hypocritical, however, they are "here speaking," says Meyer, "as *officials*, and, as such, are not inclined without special immediate occasion to express their views before the captive stranger as to the position of the Christian body which existed *in Rome itself*. A designation of the Christian sect *generally* in accordance with

its notorious outward reputation—such as might bring it into suspicion—is enough for them; but as to the precise relation in which this sect stands to them in *Rome* itself, they do not feel themselves called upon to say anything for the present, and, with discreet reserve, are therefore wholly silent respecting it.” Romans, Intro., p. 20.

(b) THE SECOND MEETING.

ACTS 28:23-29.

28:23. And when they had appointed him a day, there came many to him into *his* lodging; to whom he expounded and testified the kingdom of God, persuading them concerning Jesus, both out of the law of Moses, and *out of* the prophets, from morning till evening. 24. And some believed the things which were spoken, and some believed not. 25. And when they agreed not among themselves, they departed, after that Paul had spoken one word, Well spake the Holy Ghost by Esaias the prophet unto our fathers, 26. Saying, Go unto this people, and say, Hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand; and seeing ye shall see, and not perceive: 27. For the heart of this people is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes have they closed; lest they should see with *their* eyes, and hear with *their* ears, and understand with *their* heart, and should be converted, and I should heal them. 28. Be it known therefore unto you, that the salvation of God is sent unto the Gentiles, and *that* they will hear it. 29. And when he had said these words, the Jews departed, and had great reasoning among themselves.

2. PAUL LIVES TWO YEARS IN HIS OWN HIRED HOUSE, GUARDED BY A ROMAN SOLDIER.

ACTS 28:16, 30, 31.

28:16. And when we came to Rome, the centurion delivered the prisoners to the captain of the guard: but Paul was suffered to dwell by himself with a soldier that kept him . . . 30. And Paul dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him, 31. Preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence, no man forbidding him.(4)

(4) I have followed the theory that Paul was imprisoned in Rome for two years (Acts 28:30), that he was then released, and after travelling about for four or five years was again imprisoned and soon after put to death, about 68 A. D. See note on the Second Roman Captivity, Appendix XIII. In this last imprisonment he was treated as a criminal (2 Tim. 2:9). But the first captivity was much less burdensome to him. “It is certain,” says Lightfoot, “that all had free access to him, and that he was allowed to converse and write without restraint. He was not thrown into prison, but lived in rooms of his own. When he first arrived, he was taken to temporary lodgings; either to a house of public entertainment, or to the abode of some friend (Acts 28:23). But afterwards he rented a dwelling of his own (Acts 28:30), and there he remained, apparently, till his release. A natural desire has been felt to determine a locality so fraught with interest as St. Paul’s abode in Rome. Some have imagined him a prisoner within the bar-

racks attached to the imperial residence on the Palatine. Others have fixed his dwelling-place in the great camp, the headquarters of the prætorians, without the walls to the northeast of the city. The former conjecture seems hardly consistent with the mention of his own hired house. The latter is less unlikely, for the camp was large and might have contained within its precincts lodgings rented by prisoners under military custody. Yet the reference to the 'prætorium' does not require this, and the circumstances seem naturally to point to a separate dwelling. Within the camp then his abode may have been, near to the camp it probably was, for in the choice of a locality the convenience of the soldiers in relieving guard would naturally be consulted. Thus mitigated, his captivity did not materially impede the progress of his missionary work. On the contrary, he himself regarded his bonds as a powerful agency in the spread of the Gospel. Beyond the dreary monotony of his situation, which might well have crushed a spirit unsustained by his lofty hopes and consolations, he was not very hardly treated. It was at least an alleviation, that no restriction was placed on the visits of his friends." Phil., Intro., pp. 9, 10.

Hackett points out a very striking parallel to Paul's captivity, in Josephus' account of the imprisonment of Agrippa I. in Rome. See on Acts 28:31.

III. PAUL'S FIRST ROMAN CAPTIVITY, ACCORDING TO PHILEMON, COLOSSIANS, EPHESIANS, AND PHILIPPIANS.

I. PAUL IS A PRISONER.

PHILEM. I, 8, 9.	COL. 4:3, 18.	EPHES. 3:1; 4:1; 6:18-20.	PHIL. 1:7, 12-14, 16.
I. Paul, a prisoner of Jesus Christ, . . . 8. Wherefore, though I might be much bold in Christ to enjoin thee that which is convenient, 9. Yet for love's sake I rather beseech <i>thee</i> , being such a one as Paul the aged, and now also a prisoner of Jesus Christ.	4:3. Withal praying also for us, that God would open unto us a door of utterance, to speak the mystery of Christ, for which I am also in bonds: . . . 18. The salutation by the hand of me, Paul. Remember my bonds.	3:1. For this cause I Paul, the prisoner of Jesus Christ for you Gentiles, 4:1. I, therefore, the prisoner of the Lord, beseech you 6: [18. Praying always with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit, and watching thereunto with all perseverance and supplication for all saints;] 19. And for me, that utterance may be given unto me, that I may open my mouth boldly, to make known the mystery of the gos-	1:7. Even as it is meet for me to think this of you all, because I have you in my heart; inasmuch as both in my bonds, and in the defence and confirmation of the gospel, ye all are partakers of my grace. . . . 12. But I would ye should understand, brethren, that the things <i>which happened</i> unto me have fallen out rather unto the furtherance of the gospel; 13. So that my bonds in Christ are manifest in all the palace, and in all other <i>places</i> ; (5)

PHILEM.

COL.

EPHES. 6.

PHIL. I.

pel, 20. For which I am an ambassador in bonds: that therein I may speak boldly, as I ought to speak.

14. And many of the brethren in the Lord, waxing confident by my bonds, are much more bold to speak the word without fear. 16. The one preach Christ of contention, not sincerely, supposing to add affliction to my bonds:

(5) The Revised Version renders Phil. 1:13 exactly, "So that my bonds became manifest in Christ throughout the whole prætorian guard, and to all the rest." By his appeal to Cæsar, says Lightfoot, Paul "had placed himself at the emperor's disposal. Accordingly on his arrival in Rome he is delivered over to the commander of the imperial guards, the prefect of the prætorians, under whose charge he appears to have remained throughout his captivity. He represents himself as strictly a prisoner: he speaks again and again of his bonds. At times he uses more precise language, mentioning the 'coupling chain' (Acts 28:20; Ephes. 6:20). According to Roman custom he was bound by the hand to the soldier who guarded him, and was never left alone day or night. As the soldiers would relieve guard in constant succession, the prætorians one by one were brought into communication with the 'prisoner of Jesus Christ,' and thus he was able to affirm that his bonds had borne witness to the gospel 'throughout the imperial regiments' (Phil. 1:13)." Phil., Intro., pp. 7-9.

2. PAUL'S EXPECTATION OF RELEASE.

PHILEM. 22.

22. But withal prepare me also a lodging: for I trust that through your prayers I shall be given unto you.

PHIL. I:23-27; 2:24.

I: [23. For I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ; which is far better: 24. Nevertheless to abide in the flesh *is* more needful for you. 25. And having this confidence, I know that I shall abide and continue with you all for your furtherance and joy of faith.] 26. That your rejoicing may be more abundant in Jesus Christ for me by my coming to you again. 27. Only let your conversation be as it becometh the gospel of Christ: that whether I come and see you, or else be absent, I may hear of your affairs, that ye stand fast in one spirit, with one mind striving together for the faith of the gospel;

2:24. But I trust in the Lord that I also myself shall come shortly.

3. PAUL'S COMPANIONS.

(a) TIMOTHY.⁽⁶⁾

PHILEM. I.

1. Paul, a prisoner of Jesus Christ, and Timothy *our* brother, unto Philemon our dearly beloved, and fellow-laborer,

COL. 1:1.

1:1. Paul, an apostle of Jesus Christ by the will of God, and Timotheus *our* brother,

PHIL. 1:1; 2:19-23.

1:1. Paul and Timotheus, the servants of Jesus Christ, to all the saints in Christ Jesus which are at Philippi,

2:19. But I trust in the Lord Jesus to send Timotheus shortly unto you, that I also may be of good comfort, when I know your state. 20. For I have no man like-minded, who will naturally care for your state. 21. For all seek their own, not the things which are Jesus Christ's. 22. But ye know the proof of him, that, as a son with the father, he hath served with me in the gospel. 23. Him therefore I hope to send presently, so soon as I shall see how it will go with me.

6) On Timothy's connection with Paul's life see note 4, p. 63.

(b) EPAPHRAS. HIS VISIT TO ROME OCCASIONS THE WRITING OF COLOSSIANS. 61 OR 62 A. D.

PHILEM. 23.

23. There salute thee Epaphras,⁽⁷⁾ my fellow-prisoner in Christ Jesus.

COL. 1:3-8; 4:12-13.

1:3. We give thanks to God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, praying always for you, 4. Since we heard of your faith in Christ Jesus, and of the love *which ye have* to all the saints, 5. For the hope which is laid up for you in heaven, whereof ye heard before in the word of the truth of the gospel; 6. Which is come unto you, as *it is* in all the world; and bringeth forth fruit, as *it doth* also in you, since the day ye heard *of it*, and knew the grace of God in truth: 7. As ye also learned of Epaphras our dear fellow servant, who is for you a faithful minister of Christ; 8. Who also declared unto us your love in the Spirit.

4:12. Epaphras, who is *one* of you, a servant of Christ, saluteth you, always laboring fervently for you in prayers, that ye may stand perfect and complete in all the will of God. 13. For I bear him record, that he hath a great zeal for you, and them *that are* in Laodicea, and them in Hierapolis.

(7) Epaphras was an evangelist who founded the church at Colossæ and continued from time to time to work there, "always laboring fervently for you in prayers, that ye may stand perfect and complete in all the will of God." His zealous ministrations also extended to the neighboring cities, Laodicea and Hierapolis. Colossæ was not an important place, but certain doctrinal questions brought it into special prominence. Paul "had received a visit from Epaphras. The dangerous condition of the Colossian and neighboring churches had filled the mind of their evangelist with alarm. A strange form of heresy had broken out in these brotherhoods—a combination of Judaic formalism with Oriental mystic speculation—and was already spreading rapidly. His distress was extreme. He gratefully acknowledged and reported their faith in Christ and their works of love. But this only quickened his anxiety. He had 'much toil for them'; he was 'ever wrestling in his prayers in their behalf,' that they might stand fast and not abandon the simplicity of their earlier faith. He came to Rome, we may suppose, for the express purpose of laying this state of things before the apostle and seeking his counsel and assistance."

This visit of Epaphras occasioned Paul's Epistle to the Colossians, a short account of which is given in Appendix XV.

"Of Epaphras himself we know nothing beyond the few but significant notices which connect him with Colossæ. He did not return to Colossæ as the bearer of the letter but remained behind with St. Paul. As St. Paul in a contemporary epistle designates him his fellow-prisoner (Philem. 23), it may be inferred that his zeal and affection had involved him in the apostle's captivity, and that his continuance in Rome was enforced." Lightfoot, Col., Intro., pp. 32-35. For a further account of the church at Colossæ see Part X., sec. IV., 2.

(c) ONESIMUS AND TYCHICUS. ⁽⁸⁾ ONESIMUS IS MADE THE BEARER OF THE EPISTLE TO PHILEMON, 61 OR 62 A. D. TYCHICUS DELIVERS THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS AND EPHESIANS, 61 OR 62 A. D.

PHILEM. 10-21.

10. I beseech thee for my son Onesimus, whom I have begotten in my bonds:
11. Which in time past was to thee unprofitable, but now profitable to thee and to me:
12. Whom I have sent again; thou therefore receive him, that is, mine own bowels:
13. Whom I would have retained with me, that in thy stead he might have ministered unto me in the bonds of the gospel: 14. But without thy mind would I do nothing; that thy benefit

COL. 4:7-9.

4:7. All my state shall Tychicus declare unto you, *who is* a beloved brother, and a faithful minister and fellow servant in the Lord:
8. Whom I have sent unto you for the same purpose, that he might know your estate, and comfort your hearts;
9. With Onesimus, a faithful and beloved brother, who is *one* of you. They shall make known unto you all things which *are done* here.

EPHES. 6:21-22.

6:21. But that ye also may know my affairs, *and* how I do, Tychicus, a beloved brother and faithful minister in the Lord, shall make known to you all things:
22. Whom I have sent unto you for the same purpose, that ye might know our affairs, and *that* he might comfort your hearts.

PHILEM.

should not be as it were of necessity, but willingly. 15. For perhaps he therefore departed for a season, that thou shouldest receive him for ever; 16. Not now as a servant, but above a servant, a brother beloved, specially to me, but how much more unto thee, both in the flesh, and in the Lord? 17. If thou count me therefore a partner, receive him as myself. 18. If he hath wronged thee, or oweth thee aught, put that on mine account; 19. I Paul have written *it* with mine own hand, I will repay *it*: albeit I do not say to thee how thou owest unto me even thine own self besides. 20. Yea, brother, let me have joy of thee in the Lord: refresh my bowels in the Lord. 21. Having confidence in thy obedience I wrote unto thee, knowing that thou wilt also do more than I say.

COL.

EPHES.

(8) There was another circumstance besides the visit of Epaphras to Rome which attracted Paul's attention to the obscure church at Colossæ. "At the time when Epaphras paid this visit, St. Paul was also in communication with another Colossian, who had visited Rome under very different circumstances. *Onesimus*, the runaway slave, had sought the metropolis, the common sink of all nations, probably as a convenient hiding-place, where he might escape detection among its crowds and make a livelihood as best he could. Here, perhaps accidentally, perhaps through the intervention of Epaphras, he fell in with his master's old friend. The apostle interested himself in his case, instructed him in the gospel, and transformed him from a good-for-nothing slave into a 'faithful and beloved brother.'" (Lightfoot, Col., Intro., p. 33.) To aid the slave Paul avails himself of the services of *Tychicus*, who was probably an Ephesian, and was one of those who left Greece with him for Jerusalem (Acts 20:4). He is made the bearer of the Epistle to the *Colossians* (Col. 4:7, 8), and at the same time Paul sends with him *Onesimus* (Col. 4:9), the runaway slave, whose home was in Colossæ ("who is one of you." Col. 4:9.) *Tychicus* is entrusted with the delicate mission of mediating between the slave and Philemon, his owner, a task which he could well perform, as being "well known as the apostle's friend and fellow-laborer [he] might throw

the shield of his protection over him, and avert the worst consequences of Philemon's anger." But to make assurance doubly sure Paul entrusts to Onesimus a letter to Philemon, that the apostle's own words may add force to Tychicus' work of reconciliation. On the Epistle to *Philemon*, see Appendix XV.

But Paul gave still another commission to Tychicus. "The apostle wrote at this time a circular letter to the Asiatic churches, which got its ultimate designation from the metropolitan city, and is consequently known to us as the Epistle to the *Ephesians*. It was the immediate object of Tychicus' journey to deliver copies of this letter at all the principal centres of Christianity in the district, and at the same time to communicate by word of mouth the apostle's special messages to each. (Ephes. 6: 21, 22.) . . . Thus the three letters are closely related. Tychicus is the personal link of connection between the Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians; Onesimus between those to the Colossians and to Philemon." (Lightfoot, Col., Intro., pp. 36, 37.) "Of the three thus connected the Epistle to the Colossians is the link between the other two. On the one hand its connection with the Epistle to the Ephesians is established by a remarkable resemblance of style and matter, and by the fact of its being entrusted to the same messenger, Tychicus. On the other, it is shown to synchronize with the letter to Philemon by more than one coincidence: Onesimus accompanies both epistles; in both salutations are sent to Archippus (Col. 4: 17; Phile. 2); in both the same persons are mentioned as St. Paul's companions at the time of writing (Philem. 23, 24; Col. 1: 1; 4: 7-14)." (Lightfoot, Phil., Intro., p. 31.)

For a further account of Tychicus, see Titus 3: 12, and 2 Tim. 4: 12.

(d) MARCUS, ARISTARCHUS, DEMAS, LUKE, JESUS (JUSTUS).

PHILEM. 24.

24. Marcus, Aristarchus, Demas, Lucas, my fellow laborers.⁽⁹⁾

COL. 4: 10, 11, 14.

4: 10. Aristarchus my fellow prisoner saluteth you, and Marcus, sister's son to Barnabas, (touching whom ye received commandments: if he come unto you, receive him;) 11. And Jesus, which is called Justus, who are of the circumcision. These only are my fellow workers unto the kingdom of God, which have been a comfort unto me. . . . 14. Luke, the beloved physician, and Demas, greet you.

(9) This list of names is the same in both Colossians and Philemon with the exception of Jesus (Justus), which is omitted in Philemon.

"*Marcus*, doubtless John Mark, who had been associated with St. Paul in his earlier missionary work; Acts 12: 25; 15: 37 seq. (see note, p. 39). This commendatory notice is especially interesting as being the first mention of him since the separation some twelve years before; Acts 15: 39. In the later years of the apostle's life he entirely effaced the unfavorable impression left by his earlier deser-

tion; 2 Tim. 4:11, 'for he is profitable to me for the ministry.' This notice is likewise important in two other respects. 1. Mark appears here as commended to a church of pro-consular *Asia*, and intending to visit those parts. To the churches of this same region he sends a salutation in 1 Pet. 5:13; and in this district apparently also he is found some few years later than the present time, 2 Tim. 4:11. 2. Mark is now residing at *Rome*,... and early tradition speaks of his Gospel as having been written for the Romans." (Lightfoot.) "*Aristarchus*, the Thessalonian. He had started with St. Paul on his voyage from Jerusalem to Rome, but probably had parted from the apostle at Myra. If so, he must have rejoined him at Rome at a later date. He would be well known in proconsular Asia, which he had visited from time to time; Acts 19:29; 20:4; 27:2." How was he Paul's "fellow-prisoner"? "The most probable solution would be that his relations with St. Paul in Rome excited suspicion and led to a temporary confinement. Another possible hypothesis is that he voluntarily shared the apostle's captivity by living with him." (Lightfoot.) (See note, p. 146.) *Demas* afterwards deserted Paul, "having loved this present world" (2 Tim. 4:10). He is named with Luke, who remained faithful to the end (2 Tim. 4:11). Here in Col. 4:14 Luke is called the "beloved physician," Demas is simply named without any characterization. "The absence of any honorable or endearing mention here," says Alford, "may be owing to the commencement of this apostasy, or some unfavorable indication in his character."

Lucas. "St. Luke had travelled with St. Paul on his last journey to Jerusalem (Acts 21:1 seq.). He had also accompanied him two years later from Jerusalem to Rome (Acts 27:2 seq.) [See note, p. 146.]... He was at the apostle's side again in his second captivity (2 Tim. 4:11)." "*Jesus* which is called *Justus*." "Probably he was not a man of any prominence in the church, but his personal devotion to the apostle prompted this honorable mention." (Lightfoot.)

(e) EPAPHRODITUS. HE BRINGS A GIFT FROM THE PHILIPPIANS, AND IS MADE THE BEARER OF THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS, 63 A. D.

PHIL. 2:25-30; 4:18, 22.

2:25. Yet I supposed it necessary to send to you Epaphroditus, my brother, and companion in labor, and fellow soldier, but your messenger, and he that ministered to my wants.⁽¹⁰⁾ 26. For he longed after you all, and was full of heaviness, because that ye had heard that he had been sick. 27. For indeed he was sick nigh unto death: but God had mercy on him; and not on him only, but on me also, lest I should have sorrow upon sorrow. 28. I sent him therefore the more carefully, that, when ye see him again, ye may rejoice, and that I may be the less sorrowful. 29. Receive him therefore in the Lord with all gladness; and hold such in reputation: 30. Because for the work of Christ he was nigh unto death, not regarding his life, to supply your lack of service toward me. 4:18. But I have all, and abound: I am full, having received of Epaphroditus the things *which were sent* from you, an odor of a sweet smell, a sacrifice acceptable, well pleasing to God... 22. All the saints salute you, chiefly they that are of Cæsar's household.⁽¹¹⁾

(10) Epaphroditus is not mentioned anywhere except in Philippians, and is not to be confused with Epaphras (Col. 1:7; 4:12; Philem. 23). The Philippians had always been generous in supplying Paul's personal wants. "After the close of his first visit," says Lightfoot, "while he was still in Macedonia, they had more than once sent him timely assistance to Thessalonica (Phil. 4:16). [p. 71.] When from Macedonia he passed on to Achaia, fresh supplies from Philippi reached him at Corinth (Phil. 4:15). [p. 77.] Then there was a lull in their attentions. It was not that their affection had cooled, the apostle believed, but that the opportunity was wanting. Now at length, after a lapse of ten years, their loyalty again took the same direction; and Epaphroditus was despatched to Rome with their gift. Their zealous attention was worthily seconded by the messenger whom they had chosen. Not content with placing this token of their love in St. Paul's hands, Epaphroditus devoted himself heart and soul to the ministry under the apostle's guidance. But the strain of excessive exertion was too great for his physical powers. In his intense devotion to the work he lost his health and almost his life. At length the danger passed away. 'God had mercy,' says the apostle, 'not on him only, but on myself also, that I might not have sorrow upon sorrow.' But his convalescence was succeeded by home-sickness. He was oppressed with the thought that the Philippians would have heard of his critical state. He was anxious to return that he might quiet their alarm. This purpose was warmly approved by St. Paul. To contribute to their happiness in any way was to alleviate his own sorrows. He would not, therefore, withhold Epaphroditus from them. So Epaphroditus returns to Philippi, bearing a letter from the apostle in which he pours out his heart in an overflow of gratitude and love." (Phil., Intro., pp. 61, 62.) On the Epistle to the Philippians, see Appendix XV.

(11) On the general expression "they that are of Cæsar's household" (4:22), Meyer says, "We have to think of probably inferior *servants* of the emperor (according to Grotius, Hitzig and others: *freedmen*), who *dwell*, or at least *were employed*, in the palace." No allusion is made here to the kinsmen of the emperor. Paul's work was successful, therefore, in two important places; in the prætorian guard (Phil. 1:13), and the palace of the Cæsars.

Compare Lightfoot on Philippians, note on "Cæsar's Household," (pp. 171-178) and Intro. (p. 19).

4. PAUL'S PREACHING.

PHILEM. 10.	COL. 1:23-29; 4:3, 4.	EPHES. 3:1-9; 6:18-20.	PHIL. 1:7, 12-20.
10. I beseech thee for my son Onesimus, whom I have begotten in my bonds:	1:23. If ye continue in the faith grounded and settled, and <i>be</i> not moved away from the hope of the gospel, which ye have heard, <i>and</i> which was	3:1. For this cause I Paul, the prisoner of Jesus Christ for you Gentiles, 2. If ye have heard of the dispensation of the grace of God which	1:7. Even as it is meet for me to think this of you all, because I have you in my heart; inasmuch as both in my bonds, and in the defence and confirmation of

PHILEM.

COL. I.

preached to every creature which is under heaven; whereof I Paul am made a minister; 24. Who now rejoice in my sufferings for you, and fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh for his body's sake, which is the church: 25. Whereof I am made a minister, according to the dispensation of God which is given to me for you, to fulfil the word of God; 26. *Even* the mystery which hath been hid from ages and from generations, but now is made manifest to his saints: 27. To whom God would make known what *is* the riches of this mystery among the Gentiles; which is Christ in you, the hope of glory: 28. Whom we preach, warning every man, and teaching every man in all wisdom; that we may present every man perfect in Christ Jesus: 29. Whereunto I also labor, striving according to his working, which worketh in me mightily. 4:3. Withal praying also for us, that God would open unto us a door of utterance, to speak the mystery of Christ, for which I am also in bonds: 4. That I

EPHES. 3.

is given me to you-ward: 3. How that by revelation he made known unto me the mystery; (as I wrote afore in few words; 4. Whereby, when ye read, ye may understand my knowledge in the mystery of Christ,) 5. Which in other ages was not made known unto the sons of men, as it is now revealed unto his holy apostles and prophets by the Spirit; 6. That the Gentiles should be fellow heirs, and of the same body, and partakers of his promise in Christ by the gospel: 7. Whereof I was made a minister, according to the gift of the grace of God given unto me by the effectual working of his power. 8. Unto me, who am less than the least of all saints, is this grace given, that I should preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ; 9. And to make all *men* see what *is* the fellowship of the mystery, which from the beginning of the world hath been hid in God, who created all things by Jesus Christ: 6:18. Praying always with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit, and watching thereunto with all perseverance

PHIL. I.

the gospel, ye all are partakers of my grace. . . 12. But I would ye should understand, brethren, that the things *which happened* unto me have fallen out rather unto the furtherance of the gospel; 13. So that my bonds in Christ are manifest in all the palace, and in all other *places*; 14. And many of the brethren in the Lord, waxing confident by my bonds, are much more bold to speak the word without fear. 15. Some indeed preach Christ even of envy and strife; and some also of good will: 16. The one preach Christ of contention, not sincerely, supposing to add affliction to my bonds: 17. But the other of love, knowing that I am set for the defence of the gospel. 18. What then? notwithstanding, every way, whether in pretence, or in truth, Christ is preached; and I therein do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice: 19. For I know that this shall turn to my salvation through your prayer, and the supply of the Spirit of Jesus Christ, 20. According to my earnest expectation and *my* hope, that in nothing I shall be ashamed, but *that*

PHILEM.

COL. 4.

may make it manifest, as I ought to speak.

EPHES. 6.

and supplication for all saints; 19. And for me, that utterance may be given unto me, that I may open my mouth boldly, to make known the mystery of the gospel, 20. For which I am an ambassador in bonds; that therein I may speak boldly, as I ought to speak.

PHIL. I.

with all boldness, as always, *so* now also Christ shall be magnified in my body, whether *it be* by life, or by death.

5. PAUL'S FAITH, AND JOY IN SUFFERING.

COL. I:24.

I:24. Who now rejoice in my sufferings for you, and fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh for his body's sake, which is the church:

EPHES. 3:13.

3:13. Wherefore I desire that ye faint not at my tribulations for you, which is your glory.

PHIL. I:19-25, 29, 30; 2:16-18; 3:4-16, 20, 21; 4:11-13.

I:19. For I know that this shall turn to my salvation through your prayer, and the supply of the Spirit of Jesus Christ, 20. According to my

earnest expectation and *my* hope, that in nothing I shall be ashamed, but *that* with all boldness, as always, *so* now also Christ shall be magnified in my body, whether *it be* by life, or by death. 21. For to me to live *is* Christ, and to die *is* gain. 22. But if I live in the flesh, this *is* the fruit of my labor: yet what I shall choose I wot not. 23. For I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ; which is far better: 24. Nevertheless to abide in the flesh *is* more needful for you. 25. And having this confidence, I know that I shall abide and continue with you all for your furtherance and joy of faith: . . . 29. For unto you it is given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake; 30. Having the same conflict which ye saw in me, and now hear *to be* in me.

2:16. Holding forth the word of life; that I may rejoice in the day of Christ, that I have not run in vain, neither labored in vain. 17. Yea, and if I be offered upon the sacrifice and service of your faith, I joy, and rejoice with you all. 18. For the same cause also do ye joy, and rejoice with me.

3:4. Though I might also have confidence in the flesh. If any other man thinketh that he hath whereof he might trust in the flesh, I more: 5. Circumcised the eighth day, of the stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew of the Hebrews; as touching the law, a Pharisee; 6. Concerning zeal, persecuting the church; touching the righteousness which is in the law, blameless. 7. But what things were gain to me, those I counted loss for Christ. 8. Yea doubtless, and I count all things *but* loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord: for whom I have suffered the loss of all things, and do count them *but* dung, that I may win Christ, 9. And be found in him, not having mine own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith: 10. That I may *know* him, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable unto his death; 11. If by any means I might attain unto the resurrection of the dead. 12. Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect: but I

PHIL. 3.

follow after, if that I may apprehend that for which also I am apprehended of Christ Jesus. 13. Brethren, I count not myself to have apprehended: but *this* one thing I *do*, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, 14. I press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus. 15. Let us therefore, as many as be perfect, be thus minded: and if in any thing ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you. 16. Nevertheless, where-to we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same thing. . . . 20. For our conversation is in heaven; from whence also we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ: 21. Who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body, according to the working whereby he is able even to subdue all things unto himself.

4:11. Not that I speak in respect of want: for I have learned, in whatsoever state I am, *therewith* to be content. 12. I know both how to be abased, and I know how to abound: everywhere and in all things I am instructed both to be full and to be hungry, both to abound and to suffer need. 13. I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me.

6. PAUL'S LOVE AND CARE FOR THE CHURCHES.

COL. 1:1-9; 2:1-5; 4:15-17.

1:1. Paul, an apostle of Jesus Christ by the will of God, and Timotheus *our* brother, 2. To the saints and faithful brethren in Christ which are at Colossæ: Grace *be* unto you, and peace, from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ. 3. We give thanks to God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, praying always for you, 4. Since we heard of your faith in Christ Jesus, and of the love *which ye have* to all the saints, 5. For the hope which is laid up for you in heaven, whereof ye heard before in the word of the truth of the gospel; 6. Which is come unto you, as *it is* in all the world; and bringeth forth fruit, as *it doth* also in you, since the day ye heard *of it*, and knew the grace of God in truth: 7. As ye also learned of Epaphras our dear fellow servant, who is for you a faithful minister of Christ; 8. Who also declared unto us your love in the Spirit. 9. For this cause we also, since the day we heard *it*, do

EPHES. 1:15, 16; 3:14-21.

1:15. Wherefore I also, after I heard of your faith in the Lord Jesus, and love unto all the saints, 16. Cease not to give thanks for you, making mention of you in my prayers;

3:14. For this cause I bow my knees unto the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, 15. Of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named, 16. That he would grant you, according to the riches of his glory, to be strengthened with might by his Spirit in the inner man; 17. That Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith; that ye, being rooted and grounded in love, 18. May be able to comprehend with all saints what *is* the breadth, and length, and depth, and height; 19. And to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, that ye might be filled with all the fulness of God. 20. Now unto him that is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us,

PHIL. 1:1-11, 27; 2:12, 16-18; 4:10, 14, 17.

1:1. Paul and Timotheus, the servants of Jesus Christ, to all the saints in Christ Jesus which are at Philippi, with the bishops and deacons: 2. Grace *be* unto you, and peace, from God our Father, and *from* the Lord Jesus Christ. 3. I thank my God upon every remembrance of you, 4. Always in every prayer of mine for you all making request with joy, 5. For your fellowship in the gospel from the first day until now; 6. Being confident of this very thing, that he which hath begun a good work in you will perform *it* until the day of Jesus Christ: 7. Even as it is meet for me to think this of you all, because I have you in my heart; inasmuch as both in my bonds, and in the defence and confirmation of the gospel, ye all are partakers of my grace. 8. For God is my record, how greatly I long after you all in the bowels of Jesus Christ. 9. And this I pray, that your love may abound

COL. I.

not cease to pray for you, and to desire that ye might be filled with the knowledge of his will in all wisdom and spiritual understanding;

2:1. For I would that ye knew what great conflict I have for you, and *for* them at Laodicea, and *for* as many as have not seen my face in the flesh; 2. That their hearts might be comforted, being knit together in love, and unto all riches of the full assurance of understanding, to the acknowledgment of the mystery of God, and of the Father, and of Christ; 3. In whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. 4. And this I say, lest any man should beguile you with enticing words. 5. For though I be absent in the flesh, yet am I with you in the spirit, joying and beholding your order, and the steadfastness of your faith in Christ.

4:15. Salute the brethren which are in Laodicea, and Nymphas, and the church which is in his house. 16. And when this epistle is read among you, cause that it be read also in the church of the Laodiceans; and that ye likewise read the *epistle* from Laodicea. 17. And say to Archippus, Take heed to the ministry which thou hast received in the Lord that thou fulfil it.

EPHES. 3.

21. Unto him *be* glory in the church by Christ Jesus throughout all ages, world without end. Amen.

PHIL. I.

yet more and more in knowledge and *in* all judgment; 10. That ye may approve things that are excellent; that ye may be sincere and without offence till the day of Christ; 11. Being filled with the fruits of righteousness, which are by Jesus Christ, unto the glory and praise of God. . . . 27. Only let your conversation be as it becometh the gospel of Christ: that whether I come and see you, or else be absent, I may hear of your affairs, that ye stand fast in one spirit, with one mind striving together for the faith of the gospel;

2:12. Wherefore, my beloved, as ye have always obeyed, not as in my presence only, but now much more in my absence, work out your own salvation with fear and trembling: . . . 16. Holding forth the word of life; that I may rejoice in the day of Christ, that I have not run in vain, neither labored in vain. 17. Yea, and if I be offered upon the sacrifice and service of your faith, I joy, and rejoice with you all. 18. For the same cause also do ye joy, and rejoice with me.

4:10. But I rejoiced in the Lord greatly, that now at the last your care of me hath flourished again; wherein ye were also careful, but ye lacked opportunity. . . . 14. Notwithstanding, ye have well done, that ye did communicate with my affliction. . . . 17. Not because I desire a gift: but I desire fruit that may abound to your account.

7. PAUL'S WARNINGS AGAINST THE JUDAIZERS.⁽¹²⁾

PHIL. I:15, 16; 3:1-3, 18, 19.

I:15. Some indeed preach Christ even of envy and strife; and some also of good will: 16. The one preach Christ of contention, not sincerely, supposing to add affliction to my bonds:

3:1. Finally, my brethren, rejoice in the Lord. To write the same things to you, to me indeed *is* not grievous, but for you *it is* safe. 2. Beware of dogs, beware of evil workers, beware of the concision. 3. For we are the circumcision, which worship God in the spirit, and rejoice in Christ Jesus, and have no confidence in the flesh. . . . 18. (For many walk, of whom I have told you often, and now tell you even weeping, *that they are* the enemies of the cross of Christ: 19. Whose end *is* destruction, whose God *is* *their* belly, and *whose* glory *is* in their shame, who mind earthly things.)

(12) When Paul wrote to the Romans in 58 A. D. the Judaizers had not yet appeared in Rome, but fearing that they might come in the future he warned the church against them, Rom. 16:17-20. (So Meyer.) While Paul was imprisoned in Rome (63 A. D.) his fears came true. The Philippian church was peculiarly free from doctrinal error, but now, we may suppose, Paul is informed "of some fresh attempt of the Judaizers in the metropolis to thwart and annoy him. What if they should interfere at Philippi, as they were doing at Rome, and tamper with the faith and loyalty of his converts?" Lightfoot.

In Phil. 3:1-3 is the most striking of Paul's arraignment of the Judaizers. He calls them "dogs" in contempt, as the Jews themselves were wont to speak of Gentiles. "Beware of the concision. For we are the circumcision." Ours is the circumcision of the heart, says the apostle, the circumcision of the Jews is "concision," a mere bodily mutilation. The comparison "may be matched in English," says Lightfoot, "by the ambassador's complaint that he had been sent not to Spain but to Pain; . . . or again in Latin by the taunt of pope against antipope that he was not 'consecratus' but 'execratus.'" Compare Paul's warnings to the Galatians, note 2, p. 91. The false teaching of the Judaizers, however, was not the only heresy against which Paul contended at this time; see Ephes. 4:14 and specially Col. 2:4, 8, 16-23. On the Colossian heresy see Lightfoot on Col., Intro., pp. 73-113; Eadie on Col., Intro., note 4; Schaff, "History of the Christian Church," Vol. I., pp. 772-776; Conybeare and Howson, Vol. I., pp. 448-450.

PART X.

BETWEEN THE FIRST AND SECOND ROMAN CAPTIVITIES.

TIME, 63-67 A. D. 4 OR 5 YEARS.

- I. PAUL PREACHES AND SUFFERS REPROACH.
- II. PAUL'S COMPANIONS.
- III. PAUL'S OPPONENTS.
- IV. PAUL'S CONJECTURAL TRAVELS, ACCORDING TO ROMANS, PHILEMON, COLOSSIANS, PHILIPPIANS.

- 1. PHILIPPI.

- 2. COLOSSÆ.

- (a) Paul's desire to visit Colossæ.
 - (b) The personnel of the church at Colossæ: Epaphras, Philemon, Apphia, Archippus and Onesimus.

- 3. LAODICEA AND HIERAPOLIS.

- (a) Paul's solicitude for the churches of Laodicea and Hierapolis. The work of Epaphras.
 - (b) The personnel of the church at Laodicea: Nymphas [and Archippus].
 - (c) The connection of The Epistle to the Colossians with the Laodiceans. Paul's letter to the Laodicean church.

- 4. SPAIN.

- V. PAUL'S AUTHENTIC TRAVELS, ACCORDING TO 1 TIMOTHY, TITUS, 2 TIMOTHY.

- 1. EPHESUS AND MACEDONIA.

- Paul and Timothy in Ephesus. Paul departs to Macedonia, where he writes 1 Timothy, 67, A. D.

2. CRETE.

Paul and Titus go to Crete, where Titus remains in charge of the churches.

3. MILETUS.

Paul and Trophimus at Miletus.

4. EPHESUS.

Paul and Timothy in Ephesus. The ministrations of Onesiphorus. [Paul writes the Epistle to Titus, 67 A. D.]

5. TROAS.

Paul's cloak and books left with Carpus.

6. CORINTH.

In Corinth with Erastus.

7. NICOPOLIS.

Paul's winter in Nicopolis.

PART X.

Between the First and Second Roman
Captivities.⁽¹⁾

Authorities : Romans, Philemon, Colossians, Philippians, 1 Timothy, Titus,
2 Timothy.

I. PAUL PREACHES AND SUFFERS REPROACH.

1 TIM. I:1, 12-16; 2:7; 4:10.

I:1. Paul, an apostle of Jesus Christ by the commandment of God our Saviour, and Lord Jesus Christ, *which is* our hope, 12. And I thank Christ Jesus our Lord: who hath enabled me, for that he counted me faithful, putting me into the ministry; 13. Who was before a blasphemer, and a persecutor, and injurious: but I obtained mercy, because I did *it* ignorantly in unbelief. 14. And the grace of our Lord was exceeding abundant with faith and love which is in Christ Jesus. 15. This *is* a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptance, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners; of whom I am chief. 16. Howbeit for this cause I obtained mercy, that in me first Jesus Christ might show forth all long suffering, for a pattern to them which should hereafter believe on him to life everlasting.

2:7. Whereunto I am ordained a preacher, and an apostle, (I speak the truth in Christ, *and* lie not,) a teacher of the Gentiles in faith and verity.

4:10. For therefore we both labor and suffer reproach, because we trust in the living God, who is the Saviour of all men, specially of those that believe.

TITUS I:1-3.

I:1. Paul, a servant of God, and an apostle of Jesus Christ, according to the faith of God's elect, and the acknowledging of the truth which is after godliness; 2. In hope of eternal life, which God, that cannot lie, promised before the world began; 3. But hath in due times manifested his word through preaching, which is committed unto me according to the commandment of God our Saviour.

(1) For a discussion of the Second Roman Captivity see Appendix XIII.

II. PAUL'S COMPANIONS.⁽²⁾

1 TIM. I: 1-3.

I: [1. Paul, an apostle of Jesus Christ by the commandment of God our Saviour, and Lord Jesus Christ, *which is* our hope; 2. Unto Timothy, *my* own son in the faith: Grace, mercy, and peace, from God our Father, and Jesus Christ our Lord.] 3. As I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went into Macedonia, that thou mightest charge some that they teach no other doctrine,

TITUS I: 4-5; 3: 12, 13.

I: [4. To Titus, *mine* own son after the common faith: Grace, mercy, and peace, from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour.] 5. For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city, as I had appointed thee:

3: 12. When I shall send Artemas unto thee, or Tychicus, be diligent to come unto me to Nicopolis: for I have determined there to winter. 13. Bring Zenas the lawyer and Apollos on their journey diligently, that nothing be wanting unto them.

2 TIM. I: 16-18; 4: 10, 13, 19, 20

I: [16. The Lord give mercy unto the house of Onesiphorus; for he oft refreshed me, and was not ashamed of my chain: 17. But, when he was in Rome, he sought me out very diligently and found me. 18. The Lord grant unto him that he may find mercy of the Lord in that day:] and in how many things he ministered unto me at Ephesus, thou knowest very well.

4: 10. For Demas hath forsaken me, having loved this present world, and is departed unto Thessalonica; Crescens to Galatia, Titus unto Dalmatia. . . 13. The cloak that I left at Troas with Carpus, when thou comest, bring *with thee*, and the books, *but* especially the parchments... 19. Salute Prisca and Aquila, and the household of Onesiphorus. 20. Erastus abode at Corinth: but Trophimus have I left at Miletum sick.

(2) Most of those whose names are given in this list were Paul's travelling companions between the first and second captivities. Timothy went with him to Ephesus (1 Tim. 1: 3), Titus to Crete (Tit. 1: 5), Erastus to Corinth (2 Tim. 4: 20), Trophimus to Miletus (2 Tim. 4: 20), Carpus was with him at Troas (2 Tim. 4: 13), and Onesiphorus ministered to him in Ephesus (2 Tim. 1: 18). The only names in this list which appear in that of Paul's companions during the first captivity are *Timothy* (Part IX., sec. III., 3^(a)) and *Tychicus* (Part IX., sec. III., 3^(c)). *Zenas* is mentioned only here in Tit. 3: 13; he was "probably a Jewish scribe or jurist," says Alford, "who had been converted and to whom the name of his former occupation still adhered, as in the case of Matthew the publican." Some think he was one of the "seventy" disciples. On *Apollos* see note 3, p. 91. The R. V. translates Tit. 3: 13, "Set forward Zenas the lawyer and Apollos on their journey diligently, that nothing be wanting unto them." We have no information about this journey of Zenas and Apollos to Crete, or whither they were going when Paul exhorted Titus to set them forward. To *Priscilla* (Prisca) and *Aquila* Paul sent greetings in

2 Tim. 4:19, which was written during the last imprisonment. His salutation shows that they were not with him then, but as their names were fresh in his mind we may suppose that he had seen them in his travels before his final captivity. When last heard of they were at Rome (Rom. 16:3). From 2 Timothy 4:19, where they are mentioned with Onesiphorus, who was probably an Ephesian (2 Tim. 1:17-18), Alford thinks that Aquila and Priscilla were now again in Ephesus. This couple at various times lived at Corinth (Acts 18:2), Ephesus (Acts 18:26; 1 Cor. 16:19), and Rome (Rom. 16:3). See note 21 p. 77.

For the other names in the list see on *Titus* (sec. V., 2), *Trophimus* (sec. V., 3), *Onesiphorus* (sec. V., 4), *Carpus* (sec. V., 5) *Artemas* (sec. V., 7), *Erastus* (sec. V., 6). *Demas* and *Crescens* properly belong to the time of Paul's last imprisonment.

III. PAUL'S OPPONENTS.⁽³⁾

1 TIM. I:19, 20.

I:19. Holding faith, and a good conscience; which some having put away, concerning faith have made shipwreck.] 20. Of whom is Hymenæus and Alexander; whom I have delivered unto Satan, that they may learn not to blaspheme.⁽⁴⁾

2 TIM. 2:1:17-18; 4:14-15.

2:17. And their word will eat as doth a canker: of whom is Hymenæus and Philetus; [18. Who concerning the truth have erred, saying that the resurrection is past already; and overthrow the faith of some.]

4:14. Alexander the coppersmith did me much evil: the Lord reward him according to his works:⁽⁵⁾ 15. Of whom be thou ware also; for he hath greatly withstood our words.

(3) *Hymenæus* and *Alexander* (1 Tim. 1:20) are probably the same as those mentioned in 2 Tim. 2:17; 4:14. They were both heretical teachers and opponents of St. Paul. Nothing is known of the heretic *Philetus*. Alford thinks that possibly Alexander may be the one who is named in Acts 19:33, but Hackett and Meyer deny the identity. On Alexander's supposed connection with Paul's trial see Part XI., sec. III.

(4) On the expression "whom I have delivered unto Satan" (1 Tim. 1:20), Alford says, "The delivering to Satan, as in 1 Cor. 5:5, seems to have been an apostolic act, for the purpose of active punishment, in order to correction. It might or might not be accompanied by extrusion from the church."

(5) According to the A. V. (2 Tim. 4:14) Paul seems to desire vengeance upon Alexander. The R. V. gives the true rendering, which removes the objection, "the Lord will render to him according to his works." The apostle does not state his own wish but simply his belief in divine justice.

The Pastoral Epistles abound in warnings against the heresies which had arisen in the church toward the end of Paul's life: 1 Tim. 1:3-6; 4:7; 6:4, 5, 20, 21; Titus 1:10, 13, 14; 3:9; 2 Tim. 2:14, 16, 23; 4:3, 4 and 1 Tim. 4:3 (Essenism); 2 Tim. 3:8, 9, 13 (sorcery); 2 Tim. 2:17, 18 (denial of the resurrection). In the Epistles of the Captivity, in speaking of the errors of the time, the apostle

gives warnings chiefly against heresy as such and its seditious tendency. In the Pastorals the emphasis is on the *evil lives* of the heretics and the moral effect of their teachings on others. There is thus an advance in the Judaizing type of Gnosticism over that in Colossians, Ephesians and Philippians. See 1 Tim. 1:7-11, 19, 20; 4:1, 2; 6:3-5; Titus 1:9-12, 15, 16; 2 Tim. 2:24-26; 3:1-9, 13.

IV. PAUL'S CONJECTURAL TRAVELS⁽⁶⁾ ACCORDING TO ROMANS, PHILEMON, COLOSSIANS, PHILIPPIANS.

I. PHILIPPI.⁽⁷⁾

PHIL. 1:26; 2:24.

1:26. That your rejoicing may be more abundant in Jesus Christ for me by my coming to you again.

2:24. But I trust in the Lord that I also myself shall come shortly.

(6) Farrar, who gives a graphic picture of Paul's life during the period between the two Roman captivities, frankly confesses that "we feel that our knowledge of his movements is plunged in the deepest uncertainty the moment that we lose the guidance of St. Luke." The absence of St. Luke's guidance is indeed a loss, and yet, assuming the theory of the two Roman captivities, more is definitely told us than is generally claimed by the advocates of that theory. Much of the uncertainty is due to the desire of writers on Paul's life (notably Lewin) to give as complete a picture as possible of his career at this time, and mere surface inferences are made to weigh as much as direct statements. In the fancy sketch thus drawn that which is reliable suffers with the doubtful, and any basis for certainty is lost. I have tried to separate these two classes of passages in the text (following Alford). There are a number of passages which simply express a wish or an intention of Paul to make certain journeys at some future time. These allusions are taken from *Romans*, *Philemon*, *Colossians* and *Philippians*. All the quotations from these Epistles which apply here are classed under the head of *conjectural* travels, the presumption being in the case of all of them that they were never undertaken, but are further examples of Paul's habit of altering his plans entirely, which has been observed frequently in his life prior to this time. The second class of quotations is made from 1 *Timothy* and *Titus*, probably written during this interval between the Roman captivities, and from 2 *Timothy*, written in prison just before his death. In the Pastoral Epistles are notices of journeys which Paul must have taken after being liberated from prison in Rome for the first time. These make up the *authentic* travels of the period. Such a distinction can but add clearness to our understanding of this most difficult epoch in Paul's life, and it may afford a fair presumption in favor of the theory of two Roman captivities. Lewin has ably shown that, admitting the Pastoral Epistles to be genuine, no exegesis, however ingenious, can account for the authentic travels at any time in Paul's life previous to his arrival in Rome, and after that event the assumption of two captivities is absolutely necessary to provide a time for them. See Conybeare and Howson, Vol. II., pp. 436-465; Alford, Proleg. to the Pastoral Epistles, pp. 93-97; Lewin,

"The Life and Epistles of St. Paul," Vol. II., pp. 291, 292; Farrar, Vol. II., pp. 515-581.

(7) Paul's favorite church in Macedonia was that at Philippi. After his visit there on his second missionary journey (Acts 16:12) he went to Macedonia twice before he was imprisoned in Rome (Acts 20:1 and 6), and during the second of these visits he stopped at Philippi. The only reason for supposing that he went there again, after his release from prison, is his well-known affection for the Philippian church and his expressed desire and intention of coming to them again in Phil. 1:26; 2:24. This seems to me the most probable of the conjectural travels of Paul.

2. COLOSSÆ.⁽⁸⁾

(a) PAUL'S DESIRE TO VISIT COLOSSÆ.

PHILEM. 22.

22. But withal prepare me also a lodging: for I trust that through your prayers I shall be given unto you.

(8) "There is no ground," says Lightfoot, "for supposing that when St. Paul wrote his Epistle to the Colossians he had ever visited the church in which he evinces so deep an interest. Whether we examine the narrative in the Acts, or whether we gather up the notices in the epistle itself, we find no hint that he had ever been in this neighborhood." This conclusion is favored by Col. 2:1, "For I would that ye knew what great conflict I have for you, and for them at Laodicea, and for as many as have not seen my face in the flesh." The church was probably founded by Epaphras (Eadie, Lightfoot). See Part IX., note 7. During Paul's three years in Ephesus it is probable that residents of Colossæ and the neighboring Laodicea and Hierapolis came to the city and heard Paul's preaching, as he disputed daily in the school of Tyrannus. This makes clear Luke's words, "So that all they which dwelt in Asia heard the word of the Lord Jesus, both Jews and Greeks" (Acts 19:10). See note 4, p. 93. Compare Eadie on Colossians, note 2, "The Church in Colossæ;" Lightfoot, Colossians, Intro., note 1, "The Churches of the Lycus."

I have placed Paul's visit to Colossæ, after his release from prison, among the conjectural travels, as there is nothing to prove that he actually went there save that it is urged that so important a church could not have been omitted by him at this time. In his letter to Philemon, who lived at Colossæ, he requests his friend to prepare him a lodging (v. 22). This shows Paul's desire to visit Colossæ, but whether he ever followed out his plan or not cannot be decided.

(b) THE PERSONNEL OF THE CHURCH AT COLOSSÆ:⁽⁹⁾ EPAPHRAS, PHILEMON, APPHIA, ARCHIPPUS AND ONESIMUS.

COL. 4:12, 17, 9.

4:12. Epaphras, who is *one* of you, a servant of Christ, . . .

PHILEM. 1, 2, 10, 11.

1. [Paul, a prisoner of Jesus Christ, and Timothy *our* brother, unto] Philemon *our* dearly beloved, and fellow laborer, 2. And

COL. 4.

17. And say to Archippus, Take heed to the ministry which thou hast received in the Lord, that thou fulfil it. 9. With Onesimus, a faithful and beloved brother, who is *one* of you.

PHILEM.

to *our* beloved Apphia, and Archippus our fellow soldier, and to the church in thy house: . . . 10. I beseech thee for my son Onesimus, whom I have begotten in my bonds: 11. Which in time past was to thee unprofitable, but now profitable to thee and to me.

(9) If Paul made the visit to Colossæ it is probable that he met the five Christians in the church there who are named in the Epistles to Philemon and to the Colossians. *Epaphras*, the founder of the church in Colossæ, may have been there, having been liberated from prison in Rome at the same time with the apostle.

The letter to Philemon "introduces us," says Lightfoot, "to an ordinary household in a small town in Phrygia. Four members of it are mentioned by name: the father, the mother, the son, and the slave." *Philemon*, the head of the household, "was a native, or at least an inhabitant, of Colossæ. This appears from the fact that his slave is mentioned as belonging to that place. It may be added also, in confirmation of this view, that in one of two epistles written and despatched at the same time St. Paul announces the restoration of Onesimus to his master, while in the other he speaks of this same person as revisiting Colossæ. (Comp. Col. 4:9 with Philem. 11 seq.). . . . Philemon had been converted by St. Paul himself. At what time or under what circumstances he received his first lessons in the gospel we do not know; but the apostle's long residence at Ephesus naturally suggests itself as the period when he was most likely to have become acquainted with a citizen of Colossæ. . . . It is a safe inference from the connection of the names that *Apphia* was the wife of Philemon. . . . Of this Phrygian matron we know nothing more than can be learned from this epistle. The tradition, or fiction, which represents her as martyred together with her husband may be safely disregarded. St. Paul addresses her as a Christian. Equally with her husband she had been aggrieved by the misconduct of their slave Onesimus, and equally with him she might interest herself in the penitent's future well-being. With less confidence, but still with a reasonable degree of probability, we may infer that *Archippus*, who is likewise mentioned in the opening salutation, was a son of Philemon and Apphia. . . . Our Archippus held some important office in the church; but what this was we are not told." "Perhaps he held a missionary charge, and belonged to the order of 'evangelists.'" Lightfoot thinks that he did not labor in Colossæ, but in Laodicea, which was "within walking distance of Colossæ." See Lightfoot, *Philem.*, Intro., pp. 303-309.

The slave of this household was *Onesimus*, the runaway, who was converted in Rome under the influence of Paul, and later was restored to his owner, Philemon. (Note 8, p. 159.)

3. LAODICEA AND HIERAPOLIS.

(a) PAUL'S SOLICITUDE FOR THE CHURCHES OF LAODICEA AND HIERAPOLIS.
THE WORK OF EPAPHRAS.

COL. 2:1; 4:12, 13.

2:1. For I would that ye knew what great conflict I have for you, and *for* them at Laodicea, and *for* as many as have not seen my face in the flesh;

4:12. Epaphras, who is *one* of you, a servant of Christ, saluteth you, always laboring fervently for you in prayers, that ye may stand perfect and complete in all the will of God. 13. For I bear him record, that he hath a great zeal for you, and them *that are* in Laodicea, and them in Hierapolis.⁽¹⁰⁾

(10) The same reasons for deciding that Paul had not visited Colossæ when he wrote Colossians hold good concerning Laodicea and Hierapolis. It is uncertain whether he visited Laodicea and Hierapolis after his first imprisonment. There is no doubt, however, that these three places were closely associated with each other, and if Paul went to one he would naturally include the other two in his ministrations. Their geographical situation favored this. "Lying in, or overhanging, the valley of the Lycus, a tributary of the Mæander," says Lightfoot, "were three neighboring towns, Laodicea, Hierapolis, and Colossæ. The river flows, roughly speaking, from east to west; but at this point, which is some few miles above its junction with the Mæander, its direction is more nearly from southeast to northwest. Laodicea and Hierapolis stand face to face, being situated respectively on the southern and northern sides of the valley, at a distance of six miles and within sight of each other, the river lying in the open plain between the two. The site of Colossæ is somewhat higher up the stream, at a distance of perhaps ten or twelve miles from the point where the road between Laodicea and Hierapolis crosses the Lycus. Unlike Laodicea and Hierapolis, which overhang the valley on opposite sides, Colossæ stands immediately on the river-bank, the two parts of the town being divided by the stream. The three cities lie so near to each other that it would be quite possible to visit them all in the course of a single day." (Colossians, Intro., pp. 1-2).

The same doctrinal errors prevailed in the three towns, although Hierapolis may have been less subject to the dangers of false teachings than the other two. (Lightfoot on Col. 2:1.) With Paul's death the churches of the Lycus "pass into the hands of St. John, who takes up his abode in Asia Minor. Of Colossæ and Hierapolis we hear nothing more in the New Testament; but from his exile in Patmos the beloved disciple delivers his Lord's message to the church of Laodicea (Rev. 3:14-21); a message doubtless intended to be communicated also to the two subordinate churches, to which it would apply almost equally well." Lightfoot on Col., Intro., p. 41.

(b) THE PERSONNEL⁽¹¹⁾ OF THE CHURCH AT LAODICEA: NYMPHAS
[AND ARCHIPPUS.]

COL. 4:15.

4:15. Salute the brethren which are in Laodicea, and Nymphas, and the church which is in his house.

(11) Paul mentions by name one prominent member of the church in Laodicea, *Nymphas*. "The Colossian church was, in the apostle's name, to salute the sister church in Laodicea, especially not forgetting in such a greeting Nymphas, and the church in his house. The first 'and' points out Nymphas as worthy of distinction, and probably the last 'and' introduces the explanation. The church in his house could not, as Bähr supposes, be the whole Laodicean church; nor can the words, as some of the Greek Fathers opine, mean simply the family of Nymphas, all of whom were Christians. Some portion of the Laodicean believers, for what reason we know not, stately met for worship in the house of Nymphas." (Eadie.)

Archippus, whose parents lived at Colossæ (see note 9, p. 178) labored chiefly in Laodicea. His "youth and inexperience" may have called forth Paul's exhortation in Col. 4:17, "And say to Archippus, Take heed to the ministry which thou hast received in the Lord, that thou fulfil it." Lightfoot says (Col., Intro., pp. 42-43): "Some signs of slackened zeal seem to have called forth this rebuke. It may be an accidental coincidence, but it is at least worthy of notice, that lukewarmness is the special sin denounced in the angel of the Laodiceans, and that the necessity of greater earnestness is the burden of the message to that church (Rev. 3:15). As with the people, so it is with the priest. The community takes its color from, and communicates its color to, its spiritual rulers." In Philemon 2 Paul addresses Archippus "as his 'fellow-soldier,' but we are not informed on what spiritual campaigns they had served in company. Of his subsequent career we have no trustworthy evidence. Tradition represents him as having suffered martyrdom at Colossæ with his father and mother." Lightfoot, Philemon, Intro., p. 310.

(c) THE CONNECTION OF THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS WITH THE LAODICEANS.
PAUL'S LETTER TO THE LAODICEAN CHURCH.

COL. 4:16.

4:16. And when this epistle is read among you, cause that it be read also in the church of the Laodiceans; and that ye likewise read the *epistle* from Laodicea.⁽¹²⁾

(12) The Epistle to the Colossians was intended also for the Laodiceans. "And when this epistle is read among you, cause that it be read also in the church of the Laodiceans."

"The Epistle from Laodicea," which the Colossians were told to read, is thought by (1) Calvin, Beza, and Erasmus, to be a letter from the Laodiceans to Paul. (2) According to Meyer it was a letter *from Paul* to the Laodiceans, which like the early Epistle to the Corinthians (p. 94) has been lost. (3) Lightfoot's view is preferable: "The 'letter from Laodicea,' which the apostle directs the Colossians

to procure and read, must not be classed among these lost letters, as there is very good reason for supposing that he there refers to the circular letter to the Asiatic churches, sent to Laodicea as one of the great centres, and thence communicated to the neighboring town of Colossæ, but circulated in the church at large through the metropolis of Asia, and therefore generally known as the Epistle to the Ephesians." So Lange, Bleek, Sabatier.

See Lightfoot, Colossians (pp. 274-300), for a full note on "The Epistle from Laodicea," and the apocryphal Epistle to the Laodiceans; cf. Lightfoot on Philipians (p. 140).

4. SPAIN.⁽¹³⁾

ROM. 15:24, 28.

15:24. Whensoever I take my journey into Spain, I will come to you: for I trust to see you in my journey, and to be brought on my way thitherward by you, if first I be somewhat filled with your *company*. . . 28. When therefore I have performed this, and have sealed to them this fruit, I will come by you into Spain.

(13) The journey to Spain still has a few defenders, prominent among whom are Conybeare and Howson; but there is no mention of its accomplishment either in the Acts or in the Epistles. The only foundation for the theory of the Spanish visit is taken from the passages here given, Rom. 15:24, 28, and 2 Cor. 10:16 (see note 23, p. 106), in which Paul expresses his intention of going there. These passages doubtless suggested the early church tradition (compare Appendix XIII.). The whole theory of the Spanish visit is now exploded. See Schaff: History of the Christian Church (Vol. I. pp. 329, 332); Conybeare and Howson (Vol. II. pp. 437-438); Meyer on Romans 15:24; Lewin (Vol. II. pp. 293-298).

The journey to Spain is the last of what I have called the Conjectural Travels of Paul. Those who desire to include these in his actual journeys at this time can follow the order given under sec. IV. and simply add the visits in sec. V., the Authentic Travels, to those named here. Paul would thus go to Philippi, Colossæ, Laodicea, Hierapolis, Spain, and then to Ephesus, the first of the Authentic Travels. 1 Tim. 1:3 (below). So Conybeare and Howson (vol. II. pp. 446-7) and Alford, Proleg., "The Pastoral Epistles" (pp. 93-94).

V. PAUL'S AUTHENTIC TRAVELS, ACCORDING TO 1 TIMOTHY, TITUS AND 2 TIMOTHY.

I. PAUL AND TIMOTHY IN EPHESUS. PAUL DEPARTS TO MACEDONIA, WHERE HE WRITES 1 TIMOTHY, 67 A. D.

1 TIM. 1:3; 3:14, 15.

1:3. As I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went into Macedonia,⁽¹⁴⁾

3:14. These things write I unto thee, hoping to come unto thee shortly: 15. But if I tarry long, that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God.

(14) Paul's journey to Ephesus and Macedonia is described by Conybeare and Howson (Vol. II. pp. 447, 448). About this time the apostle wrote 1 Timothy, probably from Macedonia. "The Epistle," says Alford, "declares its own occasion. The apostle had left the Ephesian church in charge to Timotheus: and though he hoped soon to return was apprehensive that he might be detained longer than he expected (1 Tim. 3: 14, 15). He therefore despatched to him these written instructions. The main object must be described as personal: to encourage and inform Timotheus in his superintendence at Ephesus. But this information and precept regarded two very different branches of his ecclesiastical duty. The first was, the making head against, and keeping down, the growing heresies of the day. These are continually referred to: again and again the apostle recurs to their mention: they evidently dwelt much on his mind, and caused him, in reference to Timotheus, the most lively anxiety. The other object was, the giving directions respecting the government of the church itself, as regarded the appointing to sacred offices, the selection of widows to receive the charity of the church, and do service for it—and the punishment of offenders." On the nature of the Pastoral Epistles and the subjects treated therein see Appendix XVI. The date of the Epistle can only be approximated. Alford says 66 or 67 A. D., Conybeare and Howson 67 A. D.

2. PAUL AND TITUS GO TO CRETE, WHERE TITUS REMAINS IN CHARGE OF THE CHURCHES.

TITUS 1:5.

1:5. For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city, as I had appointed thee: (15)

(15) After Paul had visited Macedonia he went to Crete with Titus. From the evidence furnished from the Epistle to Titus it is hardly probable that the Cretan churches were now founded for the first time. "We find in them," says Alford, "the same development of heresy as at Ephesus, though not the same ecclesiastical organization (cf. Tit. 1: 10, 11, 15, 16; 3: 9, 11, with 1: 5). Nor is the former circumstance at all unaccountable, even as combined with the latter. The heresy, being a noxious excrescence on Judaism, was flourishing independently of Christianity—or at least required not a Christian church for its place of sustenance. When such church began, it was at once infected by the error. So that the Cretan churches need not have been long in existence. From Tit. 1: 5 they seem to have sprung up 'here and there,' and to have been on this occasion included by the apostle in his tour of visitation, who, seeing how much needed supplying and arranging, left Titus there for that purpose." His work was a temporary one; 'viz., to 'carry forward the correction of those things which are defective' (Tit. 1: 5), and among these principally to establish presbyteries for the government of the various churches, consisting of 'bishops' (Tit. 1: 7). His stay there was to be very short (Tit. 3: 12), and he was, on the arrival of Tychicus or Artemas, to join

the apostle at Nicopolis. Not the slightest trace is found in the Epistle [to Titus] of any intention on the part of St. Paul to place Titus permanently over the Cretan churches; indeed, such a view is inconsistent with the date furnished us in it." (Proleg. "Pastoral Epistles," pp. 95 and 107).

The Epistle to Titus was probably written at Ephesus soon after Paul left Crete. (See note 18, p. 184).

"It is by no means easy," says Alford, "to construct an account of Titus. At first sight a strange phenomenon presents itself. The narrative in the Acts never once mentions him. And this is the more remarkable because of all the companions of St. Paul he seems to have been the most valued and trusted. No adequate reason has ever been given for this omission. There must be some, it is thought, which we cannot penetrate. Was he identical with some one or other of St. Paul's companions known to us in the Acts under another name? None seems to satisfy the conditions. Or are we to regard the notice in 2 Tim. 4:10 as indicative of his ultimate desertion of the apostle, and thus to seek for a solution of the problem?" The notices of Titus in the Epistles are as follows: 1. He was with Paul at the council in Jerusalem (Gal. 2:1, 3; Acts 15:1-29, pp. 51-54). 2. He was sent by Paul from Ephesus to Corinth with two other brethren to begin a collection for the poor Jerusalem church (2 Cor. 12:18; 8:6), and to inquire concerning the effect of 1 Corinthians (see p. 97). 3. Paul left Ephesus for Troas, where he waited in vain to hear from Titus (2 Cor. 2:13). He then went to Macedonia (2 Cor. 2:13), where Titus finally arrived with encouraging news from Corinth (2 Cor. 7:6-15; see p. 103). 4. Titus was sent from Macedonia to complete the collection begun on his first mission to Corinth, and took with him the Second Epistle to the Corinthians (2 Cor. 8:6, 16 ff.; see p. 104). From that time, 57 A. D., to the visit to Crete (Tit. 1:5) nothing is known of his movements. Titus' later life is given but briefly. He "appears," says Alford, "to have accordingly rejoined the apostle, and afterwards to have left him for Dalmatia (2 Tim. 4:10) [p. 190]. Whether from this notice we are to infer that he had been with him in Rome, is quite uncertain. It would seem more probable that he had gone from Nicopolis, or at all events from some point on the journey. We can hardly, on mature consideration of the expressions in 2 Tim. 4:10, entirely get rid of the impression that Titus had left the apostle of his own accord. There is, as has been above observed, an apparent contrast intended between those who are classed with Demas—they being even included under his 'is departed,' without another verb expressed—and Tychicus [2 Tim. 4:12], who had been sent on a mission by the apostle. Still, it would be unfair to lay any stress on this, in a matter so well admitting of charitable doubt; and we may be well permitted, with Mr. Conybeare, to hope that his journey to the neighboring Dalmatia was undertaken by desire of St. Paul." (Proleg., pp. 106-108).

3. PAUL AND TROPHIMUS AT MILETUS.

2 TIM. 4:20.

4:[20. Erastus abode at Corinth:] but Trophimus have I left at Miletum sick.⁽¹⁶⁾

(16) When Paul was at Miletus *Trophimus* was with him. He is mentioned twice in the *Acts*. He was an Ephesian (Acts 21:29), who left Greece with Paul for Judæa (Acts 20:4), and in Jerusalem he was the innocent cause of Paul's arrest (Acts 21:29), the Jews maliciously charging that Paul had brought him into the inner court of the temple, where Gentiles were forbidden to enter. Timothy was probably in Ephesus when Paul wrote *2 Timothy*, and this sentence about Trophimus (2 Tim. 4:20) seems a strange thing for Paul "to write from Rome to Timothy in Ephesus, within a few miles of Miletus itself, and respecting Trophimus, who was an Ephesian (Acts 21:29). It certainly may be said that there might be reasons why the notice should be sent. It might be intended to clear Trophimus from the charge which appears to be laid against Erastus, that he had remained behind of his own accord in his native land. With the apostle's delicate feeling for all who were connected with him, he might well state this respecting Trophimus, though the fact of his remaining at Miletus might be well known to Timothy, and his own profession of sickness as the reason." (Alford, *Proleg.*, pp. 102, 103).

4. PAUL AND TIMOTHY AT EPHESUS. THE MINISTRATIONS OF ONESIPHORUS.⁽¹⁷⁾ [PAUL WRITES THE EPISTLE TO TITUS⁽¹⁸⁾ 67 A. D.]

2 TIM. I:16-18.

I:[16. The Lord give mercy unto the house of Onesiphorus; for he oft refreshed me, and was not ashamed of my chain: 17. But, when he was in Rome, he sought me out very diligently, and found me. 18. The Lord grant unto him that he may find mercy of the Lord in that day:] and in how many things he ministered unto me at Ephesus, thou knowest very well.

(17) *Onesiphorus* is mentioned but twice, here and in 2 Timothy 4:19, when he was with Paul in Rome during his last imprisonment. See note 3, p. 190. I have followed Alford in assuming that it was during this second visit to Ephesus, and not that referred to in 1 Tim. 1:3, p. 181, that Onesiphorus, who was probably an Ephesian, befriended the apostle. Timothy was evidently at Ephesus with Paul at the same time, as the apostle appeals to him in 2 Timothy 1:18 to confirm what he says about the kindness of Onesiphorus, "and in how many things he ministered unto me at Ephesus thou knowest very well."

(18) "The Epistle to Titus," says Alford, "evidently written very soon after St. Paul left Crete, will most naturally be dated from Asia Minor. Its own notices agree with this, for we find that he was on his way to winter at Nicopolis (Tit. 3:12), by which it is most natural to understand the well-known city of that name

in Epirus. And the notices of 2 Tim. equally well agree with such an hypothesis : for there we find that the apostle had, since he last communicated with Timotheus, been at Miletus and at Troas, probably also at Corinth (2 Tim. 4 : 13, 20). That he again visited Ephesus is on every account likely ; indeed, the natural inference from 2 Tim. 1 : 18 is that he had spent some time (possibly of weakness or sickness, from the expression 'in how many things he ministered ;' but this inference is not necessary) at that city in the companionship of Timotheus, to whom he appeals to confirm what he there says of Onesiphorus." (Proleg., pp. 95, 96.) The date of the Epistle cannot be determined with certainty. Conybeare and Howson give 67 A. D.

5. TO TROAS. PAUL'S CLOAK AND BOOKS LEFT WITH CARPUS.

2 TIM. 4:13.

4:13. The cloak that I left at Troas with Carpus, when thou comest, bring *with thee*, and the books, *but* especially the parchments.⁽¹⁹⁾

(19) *Carpus* is mentioned only here. Nothing is known of him save that while at Troas Paul left his cloak and parchments with him.

I have followed Alford's order of the probable visits of this period. Conybeare and Howson suggest a different arrangement, by supposing " 1. That after writing 1 Tim. from Macedonia St. Paul did, as he intended, return to Ephesus by way of *Troas*, where he left the books, etc., mentioned 2 Tim. 4 : 11, with Carpus ; 2. That from Ephesus he made a short expedition to Crete and back, and on his return wrote to Titus ; 3. That immediately after despatching this letter he went by *Miletus* to *Corinth*, and thence to Nicopolis, whence he proceeded to Rome " (Vol. II., p. 539). Lewin's order is different from that of either Alford or Conybeare and Howson, and is much more imaginative. (See Vol. II., pp. 293-374).

6. IN CORINTH WITH ERASTUS.

2 TIM. 4:20.

4:20. Erastus abode at Corinth:⁽²⁰⁾

(20) " While on his third journey the apostle sent forward a certain *Erastus* from Ephesus to Macedonia along with Timothy (Acts 19:22, p. 96). It can hardly be doubted that it is the same man who is mentioned here. It is more uncertain if the one alluded to in Rom. 16:23 is also the same ; still it does favor the identity that the latter dwelt in *Corinth* as 'city chamberlain' and that the Erastus here mentioned remained in Corinth " (Huther in Meyer Com.) It seems better, however, with Meyêr, to identify the Erastus of Acts 19:22 with the one named here in 2 Tim. 4:20, the one mentioned in Rom. 16:23 being another person. See Part V., note 28.

7. PAUL'S WINTER IN NICOPOLIS.

TIT. 3:12.

3:12. When I shall send Artemas unto thee, or Tychicus, be diligent to come unto me to Nicopolis: for I have determined there to winter. (21)

(21) *Artemas* is mentioned only here (Tit. 3:12), and nothing is known about him. On *Tychicus* see note 8, p. 159.

"We may venture then to trace out this his last journey as having been from Crete by Miletus, Ephesus, Troas, to Corinth (?), and thence (or perhaps direct by Philippi, without passing up through Greece; or he may have gone to Corinth from Crete, and thence to Asia) to Nicopolis, where he had determined to winter (Tit. 3:12). Nicopolis was a Roman colony (Plin. IV. 1 or 2; Tacit. Ann. V. 10), where he would be more sure against tumultuary violence, but at the same time more open to direct hostile action from parties plotting against him in the metropolis. The supposition of Mr. Conybeare that, being known in Rome as the leader of the Christians, he would be likely, at any time after the fire in 64, to be arrested as implicated in causing it, is not at all improbable. In this case, as the crime was alleged to have been committed at Rome, he would be sent thither for trial (Conybeare and Howson) by the duumviri of Nicopolis." Alford, Proleg., "The Pastoral Epistles," p. 96.

Thus ended the missionary work of Paul. From Nicopolis he was taken to Rome, and probably after a short imprisonment he was put to death. How vast was the extent of his labors may be learned from Monod's eloquent words. "During the generation which elapsed from the year 35 to the year 65, the Roman empire was sown with a seed of eternal life, which comprehends the germ of a total revolution, not only moral, but domestic, civil, political, and even material, if so be only that the world is faithful in cultivating this seed which has come down from heaven, but is acclimated in humanity. We ask, then, who was the sower of this health-bearing seed, the field of which is the pagan world? Go and inquire at Ephesus who it was that gave them a Christian church; Ephesus will answer, with one voice, the apostle Paul; Tarsus, the apostle Paul; Thessalonica, the apostle Paul; Athens, the apostle Paul; Corinth, the apostle Paul. Are you wearied by this enumeration? Let us cut it short. Salamis, Paphos, Antioch in Pisidia, Iconium, Lystra, Derbe, Perga, Troas, Philippi, Berea, Cenchrea, Galatia, Phrygia, Mysia, Pamphylia, Cilicia, and how many others—the apostle Paul. . . . We are astonished at the amount accomplished by a man—a single man. The wonderful activity of our apostle imparts to him a kind of omnipresence in all the Roman empire, over the vast extent of which the name of Paul projects everywhere its immense shadow." (pp. 25, 26).

PART XI.

PAUL'S SECOND ROMAN CAPTIVITY.

TIME, 68 A. D.

I. PAUL IS IMPRISONED AS AN EVIL-DOER.

II. PAUL'S LONELINESS.

1. The absence of his old friends. Demas forsakes him. Phygellus and Hermogenes "turn away" from him.
2. His companions: Luke, Eubulus, Pudens, Linus, Claudia, Onesiphorus.
3. His longing for Timothy and Mark.
4. His desire for his cloak, and "the books" and "parchments."

III. PAUL'S FIRST TRIAL BEFORE THE ROMAN MAGISTRATES, AND HIS ACQUITTAL.

IV. PAUL'S JOYOUS ANTICIPATION OF DEATH.

Paul writes 2 Timothy, 68 A. D.

[Paul's death, 68 A. D.]

PART XI.

Paul's Second Roman Captivity.

 AUTHORITY : 2 TIMOTHY.
I. PAUL IS IMPRISONED AS AN EVIL-DOER.⁽¹⁾

2 Tim. 1:8; 2:8, 9.

1:8. Be not thou therefore ashamed of the testimony of our Lord, nor of me his prisoner.

2:[8. Remember that Jesus Christ of the seed of David was raised from the dead, according to my gospel;] 9. Wherein I suffer trouble, as an evil-doer, *even* unto bonds; but the word of God is not bound.

(1) "This imprisonment was evidently more severe than it had been five years before. Then, though necessarily fettered to his military guard, he had been allowed to live in his own lodgings, and had been suffered to preach the gospel to a numerous company who came to hear him. Now, he is not only chained, but treated 'as a malefactor' (2 Tim. 2:9). His friends, indeed, are still suffered to visit him in his confinement, but we hear nothing of his preaching. It is dangerous and difficult (2 Tim. 1:16) to seek his prison, so perilous to show any public sympathy with him that no Christian ventures to stand by him in the court of justice (2 Tim. 4:16). And as the final stage of his trial approaches he looks forward to death as his certain sentence. This alteration in the treatment of St. Paul exactly corresponds with that which the history of the times would have led us to expect. We have seen that his liberation took place early in A. D. 63; he was therefore far distant from Rome when the first Imperial persecution of Christianity broke out, in consequence of the great fire in the summer of the following year." Conybeare and Howson, II., pp. 467, 468. On this whole period see Farrar, II., 539-581, where the few scattering allusions in the Pastoral Epistles are woven together in a graphic picture of Paul's prison life.

II. PAUL'S LONELINESS.

I. THE ABSENCE OF HIS OLD FRIENDS. DEMAS FORSAKES HIM,⁽²⁾
PHYGELLUS AND HERMOGENES "TURN AWAY" FROM HIM.

2 Tim. 4:12, 20, 19, 10; 1:15.

4:12. And Tychicus have I sent to Ephesus. . . 20. Erastus abode at Corinth: but Trophimus have I left at Miletum sick. . . 19. Salute Prisca and Aquila, [and the house-

2 TIM. 4; I.

hold of Onesiphorus.] . . 10. For Demas hath forsaken me, having loved this present world, and is departed unto Thessalonica; Crescens to Galatia, Titus unto Dalmatia.

I: 15. This thou knowest, that all they which are in Asia be turned away from me; of whom are Phygellus and Hermogenes.

(2) Almost all of Paul's old friends are away from him now. *Tychicus*, who was with him in the first captivity, was in Ephesus; *Erastus*, was in Corinth, *Trophimus* in Miletus, *Titus*, who was last found in Crete, was in Dalmatia, "part of the Roman province of Illyricum" (see the conclusion of note 15, p. 183). *Priscilla* and *Aquila*, to whom Paul sends greetings in 2 Timothy 4: 19, were away from Rome, perhaps at Ephesus; *Crescens*, who is mentioned only here (2 Tim. 4: 10), was in Galatia. But this was not all. *Demas*, who was present among Paul's friends in the first captivity, now forsakes the apostle, "having loved this present world," and "departed unto Thessalonica." Add to this many of those in Asia, of whom were *Phygellus* and *Hermogenes*, were turning away from the apostle's teaching. Whether Phygellus and Hermogenes were in Rome and had forsaken the apostle is not said. They were evidently representatives of the Asiatic apostasy, probably prominent men in the church.

2. HIS COMPANIONS: (3) LUKE, EUBULUS, PUDENS, LINUS, CLAUDIA, ONESIPHORUS.

2 TIM. 4: 11, 21; I: 16-18; 4: 19.

4: 11. Only Luke is with me. 21. . . Eubulus greeteth thee, and Pudens, and Linus, and Claudia, and all the brethren.

I: 16. The Lord give mercy unto the house of Onesiphorus; for he oft refreshed me, and was not ashamed of my chain: 17. But, when he was in Rome, he sought me out very diligently, and found me. 18. The Lord grant unto him that he may find mercy in that day: [and in how many things he ministered unto me at Ephesus, thou knowest very well.]

4: 19. Salute Prisca and Aquila,] and the household of Onesiphorus.

(3) Of his old companions *Luke* alone is with him. No mention has been made of him since he was with Paul in the first imprisonment; it is not known whether he was with him during his intermediate journeys. It added much joy to the apostle's life that, while others were away and some had forsaken him, "the beloved physician" still remained with him. The other names are all new, mentioned only in verse 21. *Eubulus* is unknown. "*Linus* is probably the one whom the Fathers name as the first bishop of Rome." (Huther.) Of *Pudens* and *Claudia* nothing is known, but see an interesting note in Alford, Proleg., 2 Tim., pp. 104, 105; comp. Farrar, Vol. II., p. 569.

We have seen that while Paul was in Ephesus *Onesiphorus* ministered to his wants (2 Tim. 1: 18, p. 184). Early in his last imprisonment he came to Rome and sought out the apostle. "Nor was he content with a single visit. Glad to face the shame and scorn of befriending one whose condition was now so abject,

he came to the apostle again and again, and refreshed his soul with that very consolation—the sense of human sympathy—for which most of all it yearned. Probably the death of this true and warmhearted Ephesian took place at Rome, for St. Paul utters a fervent wish that he may find mercy of the Lord in the great day, and in writing to Timothy he sends a greeting to his household, but not to him [2 Tim. 4:19]. The tone of intense gratitude which breathes through the few verses in which the apostle alludes to him makes us feel that the brave and loving friendliness of this true brother, contrasted as it was with the cowardly defection of the other Asiatics, was the brightest gleam of light which fell on the dense gloom of the second imprisonment.” Farrar, Vol. II., pp. 549, 550.

3. HIS LONGING FOR TIMOTHY AND MARK.⁽⁴⁾

2 TIM. I:3, 4; 4:9, 21, II.

I:3. I thank God, whom I serve from *my* forefathers with pure conscience, that without ceasing I have remembrance of thee in my prayers night and day; 4. Greatly desiring to see thee, being mindful of thy tears, that I may be filled with joy.

4:9. Do thy diligence to come shortly unto me: . . . 21. Do thy diligence to come before winter. . . . [II. Only Luke is with me.] Take Mark, and bring him with thee: for he is profitable to me for the ministry.

(4) Do we wonder that with so few friends about him Paul longed for his beloved Timothy, who was in Ephesus, and urged him again and again to come to him? “We know not whether Timotheus was able to fulfil these last requests of the dying apostle; it is doubtful whether he reached Rome in time to receive his parting commands and cheer his latest earthly sufferings. The only intimation which seems to throw any light on the question is the statement, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, that Timotheus had been liberated from imprisonment in Italy. [“Know ye that our brother Timothy is set at liberty.” Heb. 13:23.] If, as appears not improbable, that Epistle was written shortly after St. Paul’s death, it would be proved not only that the disciple fearlessly obeyed his master’s summons, but that he actually shared his chains, though he escaped his fate. This also would lead us to think that he must have arrived before the execution of St. Paul, for otherwise there would be no reason to account for his being himself arrested in Rome; since, had he come too late, he would naturally have returned to Asia at once, without attracting the notice of the authorities. We may, therefore, hope that Paul’s last earthly wish was fulfilled. Yet if Timotheus did indeed arrive before the closing scene, there could have been but a very brief interval between his coming and his master’s death.” Conybeare and Howson, Vol. II., p. 485.

Paul requests Timothy to bring *Mark* with him (v. 11), who had been with the apostle in his first captivity. (See note 9, p. 160.) Years ago he had proven himself incompetent and a coward, and forsook Paul and Barnabas in Pamphylia during the first missionary journey (Acts 13:13, p. 39). But since then he had become a changed man, and Paul in his loneliness and old age turns to him for help as one who is “profitable to me for the ministry.”

The statement of Conybeare and Howson concerning the release of Timothy (Heb. 13:23) is based on the theory that Paul did *not* write *The Epistle to the Hebrews*. I have taken this view in the Harmony, following Calvin, Luther, Tholuck, Wieseler, Delitzsch, Alford, Farrar and Schaff.

4. HIS DESIRE FOR HIS CLOAK AND "THE BOOKS" AND "PARCHMENTS."

2 TIM. 4:13.

4:13. The cloak that I left at Troas with Carpus, when thou comest, bring *with thee*, and the books, *but* especially the parchments.⁽⁵⁾

(5) "How little could we spare this verse! What a light does it throw on the last sad days of the persecuted apostle! The fact that these necessary possessions—perhaps the whole that the apostle could call his own in this world—had been left at the house of Carpus, may, as we have seen, indicate his sudden arrest either at Troas or on his way to it. A prisoner who is being hurried from place to place by unsympathizing keepers is little able to look after his property. But now the apostle is settled again, though his home is but a prison, and he feels that it will be his home for life. Winter is coming on, and winter in a Roman prison, as he knows by experience, may be very cold. He wants to get back his rough travelling cloak. It was one of those large sleeveless garments which we should call an 'overall' or 'dreadnaught.' Perhaps St. Paul had woven it himself of the black goat's hair of his native province. . . . 'And the books, but especially the parchments,' the *biblia*—the papyrus books—few, we may be sure, but old friends. Perhaps he had bought them when he was a student in the school of Gamaliel at Jerusalem; or they may have been given him by his wealthier converts. The papyrus books, then, let Timothy bring, but especially the parchments—the vellum rolls. What were these? Perhaps among them was the *diploma* of his Roman franchise; or were they precious rolls of Isaiah and the Psalms, and the lesser Prophets, which father or mother had given him as a life-long treasure in the far-off happy days when, little dreaming of all that would befall him, he played, a happy boy, in the dear old Tarsian home? Dreary and long are the days—the evenings longer and drearier still—in that Roman dungeon; and it will be a deep joy to read once more how David and Isaiah, in *their* deep troubles, learned, as *he* had learned, to suffer and be strong. A simple message, then, about an old cloak and some books, but very touching. They may add a little comfort, a little relief, to the long-drawn tedium of these last dreary days." Farrar, Vol. II., pp. 570–572.

III PAUL'S FIRST TRIAL BEFORE THE ROMAN MAGISTRATES, AND HIS ACQUITTAL.

2 TIM. 4:14–18.

4:14. Alexander the coppersmith did me much evil: the Lord reward him according to his works: 15. Of whom be thou ware also; for he hath greatly withstood our words. 16. At my first answer no man stood with me, but all *men* forsook me: *I pray*

2 TIM. 4.

God that it may not be laid to their charge.⁽⁶⁾ 17. Notwithstanding the Lord stood with me, and strengthened me; that by me the preaching might be fully known, and *that* all the Gentiles might hear: and I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion.⁽⁷⁾ 18. And the Lord shall deliver me from every evil work, and will preserve *me* unto his heavenly kingdom: to whom *be* glory for ever and ever. Amen.

(6) "The first answer (v. 16) is the first of the two hearings or trials which Paul had during his last imprisonment."

"We have no means of knowing the precise charge now made against the apostle. He might certainly be regarded as an offender against the law which prohibited the propagation of a new and illicit religion (*religio nova et illicita*) among the citizens of Rome. But at this period one article of accusation against him must have been the more serious charge of having instigated the Roman Christians to their supposed act of incendiarism before his last departure from the capital. It appears that 'Alexander the brass-founder' (2 Tim. 4:14) was either one of his accusers or at least a witness against him. If this was the same with the Jewish Alexander of Ephesus (Acts 19:33) it would be probable that his testimony related to the former charge. But there is no proof that these two Alexanders were identical. We may add that the employment of informer (*delator*) was now become quite a profession at Rome, and that there would be no lack of accusations against an unpopular prisoner as soon as his arrest became known. Probably no long time elapsed after St. Paul's arrival before his cause came on for hearing. The accusers, with their witnesses, would be already on the spot, and on this occasion he was not to be tried by the Emperor in person, so that another cause of delay, which was often interposed by the carelessness or indolence of the Emperor, would be removed. The charge now alleged against him probably fell under the cognizance of the City Præfect (*Præfectus Urbis*), whose jurisdiction daily encroached at this period on that of the ancient magistracies. . . . We see from this statement [2 Tim. 4:16] that it was dangerous even to appear in public as the friend or adviser of the apostle. No advocate would venture to plead his cause, no *procurator* to aid him in arranging the evidence, no *patronus* (such as he might have found, perhaps, in the powerful Æmilian house) to appear as his supporter and to deprecate, according to ancient usage, the severity of the sentence. But he had a more powerful intercessor and a wiser advocate, who could never leave him nor forsake him. The Lord Jesus was always near him, but now was felt almost visibly present in the hour of his need. From the above description we can realize in some measure the external features of his last trial. He evidently intimates that he spoke before a crowded audience, so that 'all the Gentiles might hear;' and this corresponds with the supposition, which historically we should be led to make, that he was tried in one of those great basilicas which stood in the Forum." Conybeare and Howson, Vol. II., pp. 469-471.

(7) "The *lion* [v. 17] is probably to be understood as meaning either the devil, as the power that brought the danger upon him, and thereby a temptation to sin,

or Nero, as the one before whose tribunal he stood. The expression may, however, simply denote 'deadly danger'—a figurative way of setting forth this idea. This seems less probable." (Dwight in Meyer, *2 Tim.*, p. 278.) Alford prefers the interpretation which makes the "lion" the *devil*, and suggests that he tempted the apostle to deny his faith when he was forsaken by his friends, but the Lord stood with him and strengthened him, so that he witnessed a good confession.

IV. PAUL'S JOYOUS ANTICIPATION OF DEATH. PAUL WRITES 2 TIMOTHY⁽⁸⁾, 68 A. D. [PAUL'S DEATH, 68 A. D.]

2 TIM. 1:8-12; 2:8-13; 4:6-8.

1:8. Be not thou therefore ashamed of the testimony of our Lord, nor of me his prisoner: but be thou partaker of the afflictions of the gospel according to the power of God; 9. Who hath saved us, and called *us* with a holy calling, not according to our works, but according to his own purpose and grace, which was given us in Christ Jesus before the world began; 10. But is now made manifest by the appearing of our Saviour Jesus Christ, who hath abolished death, and hath brought life and immortality to light through the gospel: 11. Whereunto I am appointed a preacher, and an apostle, and a teacher of the Gentiles. 12. For the which cause I also suffer these things: nevertheless I am not ashamed; for I know whom I have believed, and am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that day.

2:8. Remember that Jesus Christ of the seed of David was raised from the dead, according to my gospel: 9. Wherein I suffer trouble, as an evil-doer, *even* unto bonds; but the word of God is not bound. 10. Therefore I endure all things for the elect's sake, that they may also obtain the salvation which is in Christ Jesus with eternal glory. 11. *It is* a faithful saying: For if we be dead with *him*, we shall also live with *him*: 12. If we suffer, we shall also reign with *him*: if we deny *him*, he also will deny us: 13. If we believe not, *yet* he abideth faithful: he cannot deny himself.

4:6. For I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. 7. I have fought a good fight, I have finished *my* course, I have kept the faith: 8. Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give me at that day: and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing.⁽⁹⁾

(8) Paul was acquitted after his first trial, and was remanded to prison. "The second Epistle to Timothy," says Alford, "dates after this his first apology. How long after, we cannot say: probably some little time, for the expression does not seem to allude to a *very recent* occurrence." The occasion of the writing of the Epistle "seems to have been one personal to the apostle himself. He was anxious that Timothy should come to him at Rome, bringing with him Mark, as soon as possible (2 Tim. 1:4; 4:9, 11, 21). But he was uncertain how it might be with himself: whether he should live to see his son in the faith, or be 'offered up' before his arrival. He sends to him, therefore, not merely a message to come, but a letter full of fatherly exhortations and instructions, applicable to his present circumstances. And these seem not to have been unneeded. Many of his former friends had forsaken him (2 Tim. 1:15; 4:10), and the courage and perseverance of Timothy himself appeared to be giving way. The letter therefore is calculated, in

some measure, to supply what his own mouth would, if he were permitted to speak to him face to face, still more fervently urge on him. And thus we possess an Epistle calculated for all ages of the church: in which while the maxims cited and encouragements given apply to all Christians, and especially ministers of Christ, in their duties and difficulties—the affecting circumstances in which the writer himself is placed carry home to every heart his earnest and impassioned eloquence.”

Alford thinks that Timothy was at Ephesus when the Epistle was written. “In 2 Tim. 1:16–18, Onesiphorus is mentioned as having sought out the apostle at Rome, and also having ministered to him at Ephesus; and in 2 Tim. 4:19 the household of Onesiphorus is saluted. Such a notice, it is true, *decides* nothing: but comes in aid of the supposition that St. Paul was writing to Ephesus. Our impression certainly is, from 2 Tim. 1:18, that Onesiphorus resided, when living, at Ephesus. . . . There is a very slight hint indeed given in 2 Tim. 4:11, which may point the same way. Timotheus was to take up Mark and bring him to Rome. The last notice we have had of Mark was a recommendation of him to the Colossian church (Col. 4:10), and that in a strain which *may* import that he was to be a resident laborer in the gospel among them. If Mark was at Colossæ, he might be easily sent for from Ephesus to accompany Timotheus.” (Proleg. “The Pastoral Epistles,” pp.97, 101–103.) Conybeare and Howson claim that Timothy was *not* at Ephesus when 2 Timothy was written, but was “employed in the general superintendence of the Pauline churches throughout Asia Minor.” Vol. II., p. 474, note 2.

(9) After the first trial nothing is certain. “That he underwent execution by the sword,” says Alford, “is the constant tradition of antiquity, and would agree with the fact of his Roman citizenship, which would exempt him from death by torture.” (Proleg., p. 97.) Of his last trial and death there is tradition only, but no history (see Conybeare and Howson, II., pp. 488–490). “Was he alone at his second trial as at his first?” says Farrar. “Did the Gentiles again hear of Jesus and the Resurrection? Did he to them, as to the Athenians, prove that the God whose gospel he had been commissioned to proclaim was the same God after whom their fathers had ignorantly groped, if haply they might find him, in the permitted ages of ignorance, before yet, in the dispensation of the times, the shadow on the dial-plate of eternity had marked that the appointed hour had come? All such questions are asked in vain. Of this alone we may feel convinced—that he heard the sentence pronounced upon him with a feeling akin to joy—

‘For sure, no gladlier does the stranded wreck
See, through the gray skirts of a lifting squall,
The boat that bears the hope of life approach
To save the life despaired of, than he saw
Death dawning on him and the end of all.’

But neither respecting his bearing nor his fate do we possess any particulars. If any timid, disheartened, secret Christian stood listening in the crowded court—if through the ruined areas which marked the sites of what had once been shops and

palaces before the conflagration had swept like a raging storm through the narrow, ill-built streets—if from the poorest purlieus of the Trastevere or the gloomy haunts of the catacomb any converted slave or struggling Asiatic who believed in Jesus had ventured among the throng, no one has left a record, no one even told the story to his fellows so clearly as to leave behind him a floating tradition. We know nothing more. The last word has been spoken. The curtain has fallen on one of the noblest of human lives." II., pp. 576, 577.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX I.

THE CONVERSION OF PAUL (p. 19.)

SOME writers on Paul's conversion contend that the vision on the road to Damascus was not a supernatural revelation, but was the result of a mental process through which the apostle was passing, having been previously prepared for it "by the scruples of conscience as to his persecuting proceedings." But, if the Scriptures are to be taken as a basis for the formation of a fair judgment of the case, this vision was a sudden, external, miraculous appearance, which not only did not accord with his inward thoughts but was in direct opposition to them. His persecutions were in conscience' name: "I verily thought with myself that I ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth." (Acts 26:9.)

This shows that conscience was firm, not wavering, and that the revelation came, as did the great light and the voice, out of a clear sky. It was a supernatural challenge, a call to "right about face," a command to repent and preach the gospel. To be sure, there was a preparation going on in Paul's mind. His brain was at work, for he was a tireless thinker; his heart was aflame, albeit with a persecutor's zeal. Paul was ripe for the wonderful message which awaited him on the road, but the preparation was not the message any more than the soil is the seed or the eye is the light. Christ spoke to no vacant, listless soul, but he *spoke*, and that is all that a fair interpretation of Scripture demands. There was the eager, conscientious, passionate Saul, and there, confronting him, in his glorified body, clothed with heavenly radiance, was the risen, exalted Christ, speaking to him with divine authority and reversing the persecutor's whole destiny. Grant that Paul was passing through serious mental and spiritual struggles, these cannot account for his change of life.

Paul was a man of deep feeling and strenuous thought, but it is not necessary to deny these things in order to recognize the miraculous element in the story of his conversion. That he knew the bondage of the Jewish law the Epistle to the Romans well shows; but whither did this lead him? Into joy and peace, or doubt and darkness? "We agree, then," says Stevens, "with those writers who hold that the conversion of Paul was connected with a process of reflection, but maintain that this process was one which was leading him rather to despair than to the joyous acceptance of the gospel. The revelation of Christ to him terminated the conflict of mind which he had experienced, not because that conflict had forced his heart to faith in the Messiah, but because it had forced him into anxiety and unrest of soul regarding himself which the manifestation of Christ to him at length met and satisfied."

That there are variations in the three narratives of Paul's conversion is apparent to the casual reader, and as Luke writes them all there is an evident design in the variety. In Acts 9 the full history is given with Luke as the authority. The other two accounts are taken from Paul's addresses, one before the Jewish mob in the Temple Court at Jerusalem, the other before Festus and Agrippa in Cæsarea. (Dean Howson, in "The Evidential Value of the Acts of the Apostles" (pp. 105-114), has shown that many of the differences in the records arise from the differences in the audiences and the circumstances in which Paul was placed when he testified concerning his conversion.) In Acts 9 Luke gives a simple historical statement of the event, probably derived from Paul himself; the other two accounts are selected from Paul's speeches when he compressed or enlarged details according to the demands of his hearers. In the address at Jerusalem (Acts 22) the *Jewish* side of the conversion is made prominent. He speaks of the persecuting Jews at Damascus as "brethren;" he calls Ananias not "a certain disciple," as Luke does in Acts 9: 10, but "a man pious according to the Jewish law" ("a devout man according to the law," Acts 22: 12); and to bring Ananias to their favor he says he had "a good report of all the Jews which dwelt there." In the address before Agrippa (Acts 26) the *Gentile* coloring predominates. Paul's whole attitude is now anti-Jewish. The Jews, he says, are his accusers. The Christians at Damascus are called "saints" whom he tried to compel "to blaspheme" (Acts 26: 10). "No such language," says Howson, "would have been possible before the Jewish mob; or at least, if he had used it, the interruption and uproar would have been hastened." The speech before Agrippa is also more condensed than any other account. The incident of Ananias is omitted, perhaps because the "authority of an obscure Jew of Damascus could have had no weight with Agrippa; and the mention of a vision might have provoked the ridicule of Festus." (The occasion was one which demanded a condensed, graphic appeal to the royal audience before him.) Paul does not give his mental processes which preceded and followed the vision on the road; he presses on to the climax: "Whereupon, O king Agrippa, I was not disobedient unto the heavenly vision." Before Agrippa the gospel as a message to the *Gentiles* is emphasized (Acts 26: 17, 18), and the apostle's call to preach to them is clearly stated, while before the Jews in Jerusalem Paul did not care to antagonize his audience unnecessarily or to bring up a subject which in the later history of the Church was to be made clear only after many a hard conflict; and accordingly he avoids any allusion to the Gentiles' share in his gospel, and says, "Thou shalt be his witness unto *all* men" (Acts 22: 15). Another incidental characteristic of the speech before Agrippa is that Paul, who was then speaking Greek, says Christ spoke to him "in the Hebrew tongue" (Acts 26: 14); but when addressing the Jews in Jerusalem he omits this fact (Acts 22: 7), as it was superfluous, for at that time he was speaking to the mob in Hebrew. (Acts 22: 2, "And when they heard that he spake in the Hebrew tongue.")

But, besides these variations in the history of Paul's conversion which are due

to literary and oratorical causes, there are others which are not so easily explained.

1. The first which has been noticed is that in Acts 9:7 the men who journeyed with Paul "*stood* speechless," but in Acts 26:14 it says, "And when *we were all fallen to the earth.*" (a) Bengel and others explain this by saying that the men fell to the ground at first, and then stood up. (b) Hackett gives another view derived from the word "*stood*" (Acts 9:7). "This verb," he says, "often means to *stand*, not as opposed to other attitudes, but to be fixed, stationary, as opposed to the idea of motion. (Comp. Acts 8:38; Luke 5:2. See the Class. Lexs., S. V.) In this sense the passage is entirely consistent with Acts 26:14, where it is said that when they heard the voice *they all fell to the ground.* Plainly it was not Luke's object to say that they stood erect, in distinction from kneeling, lying prostrate, and the like; but that, overpowered by what they saw and heard, they were fixed to the spot; they were unable for a time to speak or move." 2. The second variation in the record of Paul's conversion which must be harmonized is in relation to the voice from heaven. In Acts 9:7 it is said, "And the men which journeyed with him stood speechless, *hearing a voice but seeing no man;*" in his speech at Jerusalem, however, Paul says, "And they that were with me *saw indeed the light*, and were afraid; but *they heard not the voice of him that spake to me*" (Acts 22:9). To reconcile these two apparent discrepancies (a) some say that "the voice" in Acts 9:7 is a noise, thunder perhaps, and in Acts 22:9 an articulate voice; (b) others, retaining the idea of the voice in both places, think that, as in the Greek the genitive case is used in Acts 9:7 and the accusative in Acts 22:9, a distinction should be made. The genitive has "a partitive sense—*i. e., something of the voice*, or indistinctly. But the difference does not hold; for in 22:7 Paul says of himself, *I heard a voice* (genitive), where he cannot mean that he had only a confused perception of what was said to him." (Hackett.) (c) A more common explanation is that the word "hear" is used in Acts 9:7 in the ordinary sense of the word, but in Acts 22:9 in the sense of "understanding;" *i. e.,* Paul's companions heard the voice of some one speaking to him, but did not comprehend what was said. "To hear (*akouo*)," says Hackett, "like the corresponding word in other languages, means not only to *hear*, but to hear so as to *understand*. Of the latter usage the New Testament furnishes other clear examples. 1 Cor. 14:2, 'For he that speaketh in an unknown tongue speaketh not unto men but unto God; for no man understands him'—literally, *no one heareth*. (Comp. 1 Cor. 14:16, where *heareth* passes into *understandeth*.) Mark 4:33, 'And with many such parables spake he the word unto them, as they were able to understand it'—literally, *as they were able to hear.*" Students will vary in their preferences for the above explanations, but surely no one can question the fairness of Conybeare and Howson when they say (Vol. I., p. 89), "It has been thought both more prudent and more honest to leave these well-known discrepancies exactly as they are found in the Bible. They will be differently explained by different readers, according to their views of the inspiration of Scripture. Those who do not receive the doctrine of Verbal Inspiration will find in these discrepancies a confirmation of the

general truth of the narrative. Those who lay stress on this doctrine may fairly be permitted to suppose that the stupefied companions of Saul fell to the ground and then rose, and that they heard the voice but did not understand it."

Is it not wiser and more reverent to leave the variations and apparent contradictions as they are, unsolved? How much more power and dramatic reality there is in the whole scene if we interpret it in this large way! How much more likely is it to be true if we believe that, keeping, as Stevens says, "the constant factors" which are in all three accounts, namely, "the light from heaven, the voice of Jesus, Saul's answer, and the solemn charge commissioning Paul to bear the name of Christ to the Gentiles," Luke, whose accuracy is proverbial, should have preferred in magnificent honesty to give the story of the Master's greatest convert with all the variations which so great an event would naturally produce. (In what way could he have shown more graphically that the occasion was one of impressive confusion, so startling and awe-inspiring that even the apostle himself, when he tried to tell the tale, gave it with new colors each time, never swerving however from the great fundamental facts, that he saw the Lord, heard His message, and "was not disobedient unto the heavenly vision.") Not St. Paul, but a petty soul, in a moment of great physical and spiritual alarm, would have noted with unflinching care the small details of the scene; Paul perceived the great things only: the light was the robe of the risen Christ, the voice that of the Redeemer of men; all else was trivial and unheeded. The variations in the history of Paul's conversion, far from throwing suspicion on the truth of the record, are a mighty witness to its substantial verity.

For a full discussion of Paul's conversion see Meyer on Acts 9:1-19; Stevens, "The Pauline Theology," pp. 1-26; Sabatier, "The Apostle Paul," chap. 3; Monod, "St. Paul," Third Discourse; Howson, "The Evidential Value of the Acts of the Apostles," pp. 104-114; Schaff, "History of the Christian Church," Vol. I., pp. 296-316; Hackett on Acts 9:7.

APPENDIX II.

PAUL'S VISIT TO ARABIA (*p.* 25).

COMMENTATORS are generally agreed in connecting the Arabian visit with the apostle's stay at Damascus, given in Acts 9, though there is much difference of opinion as to the exact place in St. Luke's account in which the Arabian incident is to be inserted, and as to the length of the stay there. Lightfoot puts the visit after Acts 9:19 ("Then was Saul certain days with the disciples which were at Damascus"), and *before* his preaching in the synagogue, which is mentioned in the following verse (20). This he thinks is necessary, because in Gal. 1:16 Paul says "immediately (*i. e.*, after his conversion) I conferred not with flesh and

blood, neither went I up to Jerusalem to them which were apostles before me; but I went into Arabia." Meyer, however, places the Arabian incident *after* Acts 9:20-22, the account of Paul's preaching in the synagogues, and argues that "straightway" in Acts 9:20 ("and straightway he preached Christ in the synagogues") must be taken to mean that after being a few days with the disciples (v. 19) he straightway "preached Christ," and the Arabian visit must necessarily follow the preaching in the synagogues and be put after verse 22.

The discussion is one concerning the relative claims of the "straightway" of the Acts and the "immediately" of Galatians. If both are to be accepted literally there is a hopeless contradiction. It seems clear however that the preference should be given here to the account in Acts rather than to the one in Galatians. Luke evidently uses "straightway" (Acts 9:20) in a strictly literal sense. Paul was with the disciples a few days and then began straightway to preach, with the ardor of a new convert who could not but speak of the things he had seen and heard. In Galatians Paul's use of historical facts is all subservient to his argument, which is to assert his dependence upon God alone for the gospel which he preached. He sketches his career in the large: his conversion, his journey to Arabia and return to Damascus, the first visit to Jerusalem, when he saw only Peter and James. It is natural that his "immediately" should be used, in such a hasty sketch, in a free, general sense as meaning *soon after* his conversion, which can allow time for the preaching in the synagogues mentioned in Acts 19:20. For argumentative or rhetorical purposes, Paul often omitted important events—as for instance in his speech before Agrippa concerning his conversion he omits entirely the appearance of Ananias—while, on the other hand, Gal. 1:18-24 is quite minute and accurate (see pp. 27, 28) because the point in his argument demanded minuteness. We conclude therefore that Paul in Gal. 1:16 omits any reference to his preaching in Damascus after his conversion as it was not within the scope of his argument at that time. The order of events is as follows: after his baptism by Ananias, Paul "was certain days with the disciples which were at Damascus" (Acts 9:19). Opportunity was soon afforded him to preach in the synagogues, which he did, achieving great success as a disputant and increasing in strength (Acts 9:20-22). Then followed the journey into Arabia (Gal. 1:17), whence he returned to Damascus, from which city, after meeting with great opposition from the Jews, who tried to kill him, he escaped to Jerusalem. The view held by Olshausen, that Paul went to Arabia after the escape from Damascus (Acts 9:25), is not tenable, as according to Gal. 1:17 Paul returned to Damascus after the Arabian visit; which would necessitate, according to this view, the apostle's return to Damascus to reëncounter the enemies who had driven him from the city. See Lightfoot, Galatians, note I., "St. Paul's Sojourn in Arabia;" Meyer on Acts 9:19, and Romans, Intro., sec. I., p. 4.

APPENDIX III.

PAUL'S VISIONS (p. 30).

WHILE Paul was in Tarsus he probably had the vision referred to in 2 Cor. 12:1-4. This cannot be fixed with certainty, but 2 Corinthians was written in 57 or 58 A. D., and "above fourteen years ago" would make the date probably refer "back to the time when he was at Tarsus waiting for God to point out his work, between Acts 9:30 and 11:25." (Alford.) Meyer says the event "belongs in point of time to the stay at Antioch, or to the end of the stay at Tarsus (Acts 11:25)." Stanley thinks it might "possibly have been shortly after the escape from Damascus, which, as being about seventeen years before, may have been mentioned in 2 Cor. 11:32, 33 as a prelude to this." Whatever the date of the vision is, Meyer, Alford, Stanley, all agree that it was something distinct from that on the road to Damascus, for, as Stevens says, "While Paul has commented freely on his visions (see, for example, 2 Cor. 12:1-7), he never alludes to his conversion in terms kindred to those applied to visions, nor affords the slightest suggestion that the experience of his conversion was of the nature of an ecstatic state." "The Pauline Theology," p. 20.

"Whether in the body—God knoweth" (ver. 2) "comes in," says Stanley, "as a parenthesis, and expresses the loss of self-consciousness to that degree that he knew not whether he were carried up into heaven literally, or only in a figure."

Of the "third heaven" Alford says, "The Jews knew no such number, but commonly recognized *seven* heavens: and if their arrangement is to be followed the third heaven will be very low in the celestial scale, being only the *material clouds*. . . . The safest explanation therefore is, *not to follow any fixed division*, but, judging by the evident intention of the expression, to understand a *high degree* of celestial exaltation."

This account of Paul's visions (2 Cor. 12:2-10) "throws light," says Stanley (p. 546, 547), "on similar ecstasies recorded in other parts of the New Testament: as of Peter, in Acts 10:10; of Philip, in Acts 8:39; and especially of John, in the Apocalypse (Rev. 1:10; 4:1, etc.); 'the dreams and visions,' alluded to as signs of the Spirit in Acts 2:16; and the speaking with tongues, in 1 Cor. 14:2. The details may be different, but this description contains their common characteristics: the loss of self-consciousness, the sense of being hurried into a higher sphere—and the partial and mysterious glimpses of the invisible world. And it illustrates especially the ecstatic state in which he himself largely partook, as appears from the attacks of his enemies, still preserved in the Clementines (Hom. 16:19), where Peter is introduced as rebuking Paul (under the name of Simon Magus) for pretending to revelations *through visions and dreams*. Compare also the facts stated

Acts 9:12; 22:17, and his expression in 1 Cor. 14:18, that 'he spoke with tongues more than they all.' And further, the strong line of demarcation which he has drawn between this ecstasy and his ordinary state is a warrant to us that he does not needlessly confound things human and divine, things earthly and things spiritual. What he does say gives us a picture, at least conceivable, of the mode in which he may have received his 'revelations from the Lord' (1 Cor. 11:23; 15:3; Gal. 1:12, 16). [p. 22.] What he does not say—the silence respecting the words that cannot be uttered—furnishes a remarkable contrast to the elaborate description given by Mahomet of his nocturnal journey to Jerusalem and to Paradise. (Sprenger's 'Life of Mahomet,' part I., 126, 136.)"

For the other visions of Paul see Acts 16:9; 18:9; 27:23, and compare Acts 22:17 and Peter's vision, Acts 10:10.

APPENDIX IV.

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS (p. 79).

"THE return of Timotheus (3:6) and the message which he brought were the *occasion* of the Epistle. This message was in the main consolatory. The church, in spite of persecution and trial, continued steadfast and unshaken in the faith (1:6; 2:14), so that its members could be named as examples for Christians in all Macedonia and Achaia (1:7), and their heroic faith was everywhere spread abroad (1:8). They were also distinguished by their active brotherly love (1:3; 4:9, 10), and, upon the whole, by their faithful adherence to those rules of conduct pointed out to them by the apostle (4:1). Moreover, they had an affectionate remembrance of the apostle (3:6), and their congregational life had so flourished that the gifts of the Holy Spirit (5:19) and prophecy (5:20) were manifested among them. But Timotheus had also to tell of defeat and incompleteness (3:10). The church had not yet succeeded in preserving itself unstained by the two cardinal vices of heathenism—sensuality and covetousness (4:3 ff.); they had not everywhere shown to the presbyters due respect and obedience (5:12); and in consequence of their thought and feeling being inordinately directed to the advent of Christ an unsettled and excited habit prevailed, which led to the neglect of the duties of their earthly calling and to idleness (4:11 ff.). Lastly, the church was in great perplexity concerning the fate of their deceased Christian friends, being uncertain whether only those who were then alive, or whether also deceased Christians, participated in the blessings of the advent (4:13 ff.). Concerning this subject it would appear, to judge from the introductory words of 4:13, that the Thessalonians had requested information from the apostle.

"The *design* of the Epistle, accordingly, was threefold: 1. The apostle, while testifying his joy for their conduct hitherto, would strengthen and encourage the

church to persevering steadfastness in the confession of Christianity. 2. He would exhort them to relinquish those moral weaknesses by which they were still enfeebled. 3. He would calm and console them concerning the fate of the deceased by a more minute instruction in reference to the advent." Lünemann in Meyer's Com.

"As compared with other Epistles," says Alford, "this is written in a quiet and unimpassioned style, not being occasioned by any grievous errors of doctrine or defects in practice, but written to encourage and gently to admonish those who were on the whole proceeding favorably in the Christian life. To this may be attributed also the fact that it does not deal expressly with any of the great verities of the faith, rather taking them for granted, and building on them the fabric of a holy and pure life. That this should have been done until they were disputed was but natural; and in consequence not with these Epistles, but with that to the Galatians, among whom the whole Christian life was imperilled by Judaistic teaching, begins that great series of unfoldings of the mystery of salvation by grace, of which St. Paul was so eminently the minister." Proleg. 1 Thess., 5th edit., p. 50.

APPENDIX V.

THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS (p. 79).

"THE former anxiety concerning the fate of their Christian friends who were already asleep at the time of the commencement of the advent had disappeared; on *this* point the instructions of the apostle had imparted complete consolation. But the opinion now prevailed that the advent of the Lord was immediately at hand, that it might daily, hourly, be expected. Accordingly, on the one hand fear and consternation, and on the other hand an impatient and fanatical longing for the instant when by the coming of the Lord the kingdom of God would be completed, had taken possession of their spirits; and it was no wonder that in consequence of this the unsteadiness and excitement which at an earlier period had afflicted the church, and its result, the neglect of their worldly business, had increased to an alarming extent. This opinion, that the commencement of the advent was close at hand, had seized upon them the more readily, as men had arisen among them who maintained that they had received divine revelations concerning it, and they had even proceeded so far as to forge an epistle in the name of the apostle, in order by its contents to establish the truth of that doctrine (2 Thess. 2:2). An appeal was also made to the alleged oral statement of the apostle (2 Thess. 2:2), and it is not inconceivable that even the explanations which the *genuine* Epistle of the apostle contained concerning the advent may have promoted that view. It is true that there is nothing expressly said concerning the immediateness of the advent, but on

the one hand it is described as sudden and unexpected (1 Thess. 5:2, 4), and on the other hand it is so characterized as if Paul himself, and his contemporaries, might hope still to survive (1 Thess. 4:15, 17).

"Such was the state of matters which gave *occasion* for the composition of the second Epistle. Its *design* is threefold. *First*, The apostle wished—and this is the chief point—to oppose the disturbing and exciting error, as if the advent of Christ was even at the door, by further instructions. *Secondly*, He wished strongly and emphatically to dissuade from that unsettled, disorderly, and idle disposition into which the church had fallen. *Thirdly*, He wished by a laudatory recognition of their progressive goodness to encourage them to steadfast perseverance." Lünemann in Meyer's Com.

APPENDIX VI.

PAUL'S MANUAL LABOR (p. 77).

LUKE records the bare fact that Paul supported himself by manual labor in Corinth (Acts 18:3). In 1 and 2 Corinthians Paul gives a fuller account of his motives for so doing. "Of all St. Paul's acts of humiliation and self-devotion," says Stanley, "that which, if not the most striking, was the most habitual, and in his case the most peculiar, was his maintaining himself, not at the cost of the societies which he converted, but by the labor of his own hands as a Cilician tent-maker. It was at Corinth that this practice is first mentioned in the Acts (18:3); and from the stress laid upon it here [1 Cor. 9] and in the Second Epistle (11:7, 8, 9, 10; 12:14-18), it would seem that at Corinth it attracted most attention, and was most constantly practised, though he also refers to it as his well-known custom at Thessalonica (1 Thess. 2:8-10; 2 Thess. 3:7-9), and at Ephesus (Acts 20:34). In all these cases it is introduced, as here [1 Cor. 9], with the same general consciousness of its being the most obvious instance of love and self-denial to which he could refer: and in Acts 20:34, 35, the moral deduced from it is similar to that enforced in this passage: 'that so laboring ye ought to help the weak.' But this example would lose considerably in force if it were asserted that he had no right to maintenance from the churches, and that consequently his labor was the result, not of self-devotion, but of necessity. That this was asserted is clear, not only from this passage, but from the implied argument in 1 Thess. 2:1-6, 9; 2 Thess. 3:8, 9; and 2 Cor. 11:7-9; 12:16, 17, where he vindicates himself, in connection with this subject, against the charge of 'covetousness,' declares that 'he might have been burdensome to them as an apostle of Christ,' that he took nothing from them, 'not because he had not the power,' and that they thought by so doing he had 'committed an offence.' This charge seems to have been one out of the systematic series of attacks levelled against him by the Judaizing Christians, who could not bear to see their great antagonist assume the same lofty position in the Church as was occupied by

the original Jewish apostles of Jerusalem. One mark of their position had always been their maintenance, at the Lord's command, by those to whom they preached (see 1 Cor. 9:14; Matt. 10:9, 10; Luke 10:7). This right of maintenance seems to have been so habitually claimed by them that its abandonment by St. Paul, instead of awakening a higher admiration for his apostolical goodness, roused in the suspicious minds of his enemies, partly doubts of his apostolical dignity, partly doubts of his Christian sincerity, which were ready to burst forth the moment that the subject of his self-support was mentioned. In illustration of this opposition may be mentioned the jealousy which, on this very same ground, was roused against Socrates and Plato by the professed sophists." (1 Cor., pp. 136, 137.)

In 2 Cor. 11:6-10 Paul gives another reply to his enemies. He says, "I robbed other churches, taking wages of them, to do you service" (v. 8). "In answer to the charge that his conduct in this respect indicated want of affection," says Stanley, "instead of directly vindicating himself, he merely restates the fact: 'Judge for yourselves: is it possible that this can be from coldness?' He lays stress not so much on the fact that he supported himself as on the fact that he received support from the surrounding churches, making the church of Corinth an exception. This variation from the language of 1 Cor. 9:1-7; Acts 20:34, 35; 1 Thess. 2:9, is probably to be accounted for by his unwillingness to press upon their notice a topic so offensive as the mention of his laboring with his own hands.

"It would appear that at Philippi (Phil. 4:15, 16), and probably in the churches generally in that part of the province, on the eastern side of the Strymon, he received support according to the character of munificence for which he commends them so highly in 2 Cor. 8:2. On crossing the Strymon he was unwilling (for whatever reason) to burden the Thessalonians; and there, accordingly, was supported partly by two contributions sent after him from Philippi, partly by his own labors (1 Thess. 2:9; Phil. 4:16), [p. 71]; and again, in like manner, when he had advanced on his journey as far as Corinth ('when I was present with you') he there pursued the same course; the contributions from Macedonia being brought by 'the brethren' who followed him from thence (2 Cor. 11:9), probably Silas and Timotheus, whom he had left at Berea (Acts 17:14) and who rejoined him at Corinth (Acts 18:5). In subsequent periods of his life we find that at Ephesus (Acts 20:34, 35) [p. 101] he worked with his own hands; that at Rome he still received support from Philippi (Phil. 4:12-18) [p. 161]. Whatever peculiarity, then, there might be in the case of Corinth—and it is implied in this passage [2 Cor. 11], as well as in the distinct notice of it in Acts 18:3—must have consisted in the importance attached by the apostle to the church of Corinth, and his consequent anxiety to do nothing which could in any degree hurt his influence with them, and to do all that he could to show his real superiority to the false teachers. They rested their chief claims on the fact that they did receive support; and thus the self-maintenance, which elsewhere might be the result of accident, was here a matter of principle with him." 2 Cor., pp. 518, 519.

APPENDIX VII.

PAUL'S SECOND VISIT TO CORINTH (p. 94).

BOTH of Paul's letters to the Corinthians were written before his arrival in Corinth (Acts 20:2, 3), which, according to Luke, was his second visit to that city, the first having occurred during his second missionary journey (Acts 18:1 ff.) But in the passages from 2 Corinthians (see sec. 4, p. 94 and sec. 2 (a) p. 107), which was written in Macedonia just before his departure for Greece (Corinth) (Acts 20:2, 3), he speaks of coming a *third* time. This visit therefore, according to Luke, was Paul's second visit to Corinth, but according to Paul himself it was his third (2 Cor. 12:14; 13:1). To avoid this difficulty some have tried to explain 2 Cor. 13:1 as meaning that Paul had simply *intended* to come a third time, although from a change in his plans the visit in Acts 20:2, 3 would actually be his second. This is an evasion of the plain meaning of the text, for the impartial interpreter must admit that, were no other passages in the mind, Paul could not be understood as meaning anything else than that he was about to come for the third time. The conclusion is inevitable that Luke has passed over without mention a visit to Corinth which took place between Acts 18:1 and Acts 20:2, 3. This accords with his habit of frequent omissions of important incidents in Paul's life.

Alford, Meyer, Bleek, Neander, Olshausen, Wieseler, and Conybeare and Howson hold with reason, therefore, that Paul made a second journey to Corinth before the one mentioned in Acts 20:2, 3, which was his *third* visit. 2 Cor. 1:15, 16 when properly interpreted is not against this view (see Alford and Meyer). 1 Cor. 16:5 I have discussed in note 16, p. 102.

Where this second visit is to be inserted in Luke's narrative has been variously explained: 1. Meyer, Olshausen, Wieseler, Conybeare and Howson place it during Paul's three years in Ephesus (Acts 19:1-20). Alford puts the case concisely: "Such a journey must of course be inserted between Acts 18:18, when his first visit to Corinth ended, and 20:2, when the Second Epistle was sent from Macedonia. But these limits are further narrowed by the history itself. From Acts 18:18 to 19:9, when we find the apostle established at Ephesus, is evidently a continuous narrative. And, as plainly, no visit took place between the sending of the First and Second Epistles, as is decisively proved by 2 Cor. 1:15-23. Now the First Epistle was sent from Ephesus, in the early part of the year in which he left that city, 1 Cor. 16:8. So that our *terminus a quo* is the settling at Ephesus, Acts 19:10, and our *terminus ad quem* the spring preceding the departure from Ephesus, Acts 20:1. During this time a visit to Corinth took place." 2. Some writers think that the second Corinthian visit was simply a return to the city from some excursion made into the neighboring country during Paul's residence of eighteen months in Corinth (Acts 18:1, ff., p. 77). 3. Neander claims that Paul extended his travels through Galatia and Phrygia (Acts 18:23; 19:1, p. 91), so as to include

a second visit to Corinth at the beginning of his third missionary journey, before he finally settled in Ephesus for three years.

All these theories have much to commend them, but the best seems to be that which places the journey during Paul's three years at Ephesus, somewhere after the events recorded in Acts 19:10. In arranging the passages in the text I have for convenience placed the journey after ver. 20, and before the incident of Demetrius (ver. 23), which probably occurred very shortly before Paul's departure from the city.

"The nature of the visit," says Alford, "may be gathered in some measure from extant hints. It was one made 'in grief' (2 Cor. 2:1): why, we might well suppose, but we are not left to conjecture: for he tells them (2 Cor. 13:2) that during it he warned them that *if he came again he would not spare* (the sinners among them); and, 2 Cor. 12:21, there is a hint given that God had, on this occasion, *humbled him among them*. It was a visit unpleasant in the process and in recollection; perhaps very short, and as sad as short; in which he seems merely to have thrown out solemn warnings of the consequences of a future visit of apostolic severity if the abuses were persisted in—and possibly to have received insult from some among them on account of such warnings." Alford, Proleg., 1 Corinthians; p. 54.

APPENDIX VIII.

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS (p. 96).

"IN accordance with these circumstances giving occasion to the letter [p. 96], it was the *aim* of Paul," says Meyer, "first, to counteract the party-divisions and uphold his apostolic authority; secondly, to remove the unchastity which had gained ground; thirdly, to give instruction upon the points regarding which queries had been put to him; and, finally, to communicate various other instructions, which, in view of the state of things among the Corinthians which had come to his knowledge, and partly also in view of the express contents of their letter, seemed to him necessary and useful; such as with respect to disorder in the public assemblies, with respect to gifts of the Spirit, with respect to the resurrection, and with respect to a collection that was to be set on foot.

"The *contents* of the Epistle are accordingly very diversified. After salutation and exordium (1:1-9), the first main section enlarges upon and against the party-divisions, with a detailed justification of the apostle's mode of teaching (1:10-4:21). Then Paul writes regarding the unchastity in the church (chap. 5), and regarding the bad habit of having their disputes decided before heathen tribunals, thereafter once more warning them against impurity (6). Next he replies to the questions about marriage which had been sent to him (7), and to the inquiry regarding meat used in sacrifice (8-11:1), making, in connection with his instruc-

tions as to the latter point, a digression regarding the unselfish way in which he had discharged his apostolic office (9). Then follow censure and admonition as to disorders in the assemblies of the church, partly with reference to the head-covering of the women, partly in regard to the love-feasts (11); then the detailed sections respecting spiritual gifts (12-14), with the magnificent eulogy on love (13), and respecting the resurrection of the dead (15). Lastly, injunctions about the collection for Jerusalem, miscellaneous remarks, and greetings (16)."

APPENDIX IX.

THE FIRST MISSION OF TITUS TO CORINTH (p. 97).

THE sending of Titus to Corinth is connected with another incident; *viz.*, the return of Timothy to Ephesus from his journey through Macedonia and Achaia (Acts 19:22; 1 Cor. 4:17, p. 96). Before Titus was sent to Corinth, to inquire into the condition of the church there, Timothy had arrived with news of the effect of 1 *Corinthians*. This theory of Timothy's return to Ephesus is most probable, although there are no positive statements to substantiate it and it is open to several objections. It is not definitely stated that Timothy even completed the journey he undertook (Acts 19:22, p. 96); the only information given is that Timothy was with Paul later on in Macedonia, while he was writing 2 *Corinthians* (2 Cor. 1:1, p. 103). In addition to this, in that same Epistle no allusion whatever is made to Timothy's visit to Corinth, and that, too, although reference is distinctly made to Titus' journey to Corinth, which followed Timothy's.

Why should Paul in 1 *Corinthians* (4:17; 16:10, 11) urge the church cordially to receive Timothy, who was coming to them, and in 2 *Corinthians*, written not long after, omit any allusion to Timothy's journey? To avoid these difficulties some have assumed: 1. That there is no mention of Timothy's bringing any news from Corinth because he left the city before 1 *Corinthians* was delivered to the church, and therefore he had no news to report. 2. Others say that Timothy went to Macedonia with Erastus, as he intended (Acts 19:22, p. 96), but did not go as far as Corinth, returning from Macedonia to Ephesus. Paul therefore does not allude in 2 *Corinthians* to Timothy's Corinthian visit because it never happened. Against these explanations, however, Meyer and Alford well argue that Paul had written the *Corinthians* to expect Timothy (1 Cor. 16:10, 11), who was to fulfil a definite errand: to "bring you into remembrance of my ways which be in Christ" (1 Cor. 4:17). Now, had this journey been abandoned, Paul rightly would have been open to the charge of fickleness of purpose, and some allusion would surely have been demanded in self-defence in 2 *Corinthians*. It seems best to hold, therefore, that Timothy went to Corinth, arriving after 1 *Corinthians* was received, and returned to Ephesus with the news of the reception of the Epistle, on

receipt of which information Paul sent Titus to the same city to make further inquiries into the condition of affairs. The fact that when Paul wrote 2 Corinthians he makes no mention of the information which he had received from Timothy "is explained," says Meyer, "from the circumstance that in 2 Cor. 1 : 1 Timothy himself appears as joint sender of the Epistle; whence, not only was it obvious to the reader that Timothy on his return had made communications to the apostle, but it would have been unbecoming and awkward if Paul had said that he had received *from Timothy* accounts of the result of his Epistle." After leaving Ephesus and while in Troas (2 Cor. 2 : 12, 13, p̄. 102) Paul was in distress of mind, and in Macedonia (2 Cor. 7 : 5, p. 103) his "flesh had no rest, but we were troubled on every side; without were fightings, within were fears." Doubtless much of this anxiety was due to his solicitude for the Corinthian church; Paul had heard discouraging accounts from Timothy, and he was waiting for Titus to furnish him the latest news from Corinth (2 Cor. 2 : 13). This information, which was of an encouraging nature, Titus at last brought to Paul in Macedonia (2 Cor. 7 : 5 ff., p. 103).

This brings us to the question, *When* was Titus sent on this errand? Luke not only does not give any information on this point, but in all his history Titus' name is never mentioned. The time at which Titus departed for Corinth must therefore be learned from the Epistles. The limits are easily narrowed. The return from the journey is first mentioned in 2 Corinthians, and hence the departure must have been before that Epistle was written. He could not have started before 1 Corinthians was written, as evidently some allusion would have been made in that Epistle to his intended visit similar to that made to Timothy's proposed journey (1 Cor. 4 : 17). He started, then, sometime between the last part of Paul's stay in Ephesus after 1 Corinthians was written, and Paul's arrival in Macedonia (Acts 20 : 1). If our theory is correct (and we are left to probabilities here) the circumstances were as follows: 1 Corinthians had been written, Timothy had returned with news of its reception and the condition of the Corinthian church, and then Paul sent Titus, with a brother not mentioned by name (2 Cor. 12 : 18), to make further inquiries, and perhaps to take some words of counsel, and to begin the work of collecting money for the church in Jerusalem (2 Cor. 8 : 6, "Insomuch that we desired Titus, that as he had begun, so he would also finish in you the same grace also"). Reference is made in this passage to both the first and the second of Titus' Corinthian missions; the first of these, in which he "began," is the one now under consideration. "The work of collection is designated as 'grace,' for on the side of the giver it was a *showing of kindness*, a work of love." This first journey of Titus to Corinth had important effects; on account of it Paul later wrote 2 Corinthians, and sent Titus on his second Corinthian mission. (see note 20, p. 105). On the whole subject of the journeys of Timothy and Titus Meyer is particularly valuable; cf. also Alford, *Proleg.*, 2 Cor., pp. 60, 61. While I have tried to arrange these journeys in their proper order, it must be confessed with Alford that, "after all that has been written on the visits of Timotheus and Titus, we shall hardly arrive nearer the truth than a happy conjecture."

APPENDIX X.

THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS (p. 104).

THE *aim* of 2 Corinthians was very simple. Titus had brought back tidings from Corinth which were both favorable and unfavorable. "All who were well-disposed," says Alford, "had been humbled by his [Paul's] reproofs; but evidently his adversaries had been further embittered. He wished to express to them the comfort which the news of their submission had brought to him, and at the same time to defend his apostolic efficiency and personal character against the impugn-ers of both. Under these circumstances and with these objects he wrote this Epistle, and sent it before him to break the severity with which he contemplated having to act against the rebellious (2 Cor. 13:10) by winning them over, if possible, before his arrival." The purpose of the Epistle accounts for its *contents*, which Meyer gives as follows: "The whole falls, after the salutation and introduction, into three parts: 1. Paul sets forth his apostolic character and course of life, and interweaves with it affectionate outpourings of his heart over the impression produced by his former letter—an ingenious apology, closing with expressions of praise and confidence, chaps. 1-7. 2. Regarding the collection, chaps. 8 and 9. 3. Polemical assertion of his apostolic dignity against its opponents, with some irritation, and even not without sarcasm and bitterness, but forcible and triumphant. Conclusion" [chaps. 10-13].

Would we know the character of St. Paul, this, the most personal of all his writings, should be carefully studied; as Stanley well says: "This Epistle becomes the most striking instance of what is the case, more or less, with all his writings: a new philosophy of life poured forth, not through systematic treatises, but through occasional bursts of human feeling."

APPENDIX XI.

THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS (p. 107).

WHILE in Corinth, 57 A. D., Paul wrote the Epistle to the Galatians (so Conybeare and Howson, and Farrar 58 A. D.). Others assign the Epistle to Paul's three years in Ephesus (see note 4, p. 93). Ramsay favors an early date during the second missionary journey. While I accept Ramsay's South-Galatian theory I have thought it best, till his position becomes more widely understood, to follow the authorities who date Galatians at Corinth. See Ramsay, "The Church in the Roman Empire before A. D. 170," and Lightfoot, Galatians (Intro., note III).

The occasion and purpose of the Epistle are well summarized by Meyer: "Judaizing Christian teachers with Pharisaic leanings (compare Acts 16:1)—emissaries from Palestine (not unbelieving Jews)—had made their appearance among the Galatian churches after Paul, and with their attacks upon his apostolic dignity (1:1, 11; 2:14,) and their assertion of the necessity of circumcision for Christians (5:2, 11, 12; 6:12 ff.), which involved as a necessary consequence the obligation of the whole law (5:3), had found but too ready a hearing, so that the Judaizing tendency was on the point of getting the upper hand (1:6; 3:1, 3; 4:9 ff., 21; 5:2 ff., 7). . . . In accordance with this state of things, which gave occasion to the letter, it was the *object* of Paul to defend in it his apostolic authority, and to bring his readers to a triumphant conviction of the freedom of the Christian from circumcision and the Mosaic law through the justification arising from God's grace in Christ. . . .

"As regards *contents*, (1) the apologetico-dogmatic portion of the Epistle divides itself into two branches: (a) the defence of the apostolic standing and dignity of Paul, chapters 1 and 2, in connection with which the foundation of Christian freedom is also set forth in 2:15-21; (b) the proof that the Christian, through God's grace in Christ, is independent of circumcision and Mosaism, chapters 3 and 4. Next (2), in the hortatory portion, the readers are encouraged to hold fast to their Christian freedom, but also not to misuse it, chapter 5. Then follow other general exhortations, chapter 6:1-10; and finally an energetic autograph warning against the seducers (6:11-16), and the conclusion."

For a lucid popular treatment of Paul's gospel in Galatians and Romans see Stalker, secs. 54-67.

APPENDIX XII.

THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS (p. 107).

"THAT the Epistle," says Meyer, "was called forth by special communications made from Rome itself (possibly by Aquila and Priscilla) is nowhere apparent from its contents; on the contrary, such a view is, from the general nature of the contents, highly improbable. Of all the apostle's letters, our present Epistle is that which has least arisen out of the necessity of dealing with special casual circumstances."

The apostle saw the importance which some day would be attached to the great city of Rome; he therefore "chose for his theme," says Schaff, "the gospel the power of God unto salvation to every believer, the Jew first, and also the Gentile (1:16, 17). Writing to the philosophical Greeks, he contrasts the *wisdom* of God with the wisdom of man. To the world-ruling Romans he represents Christianity as the *power* of God, which by spiritual weapons will conquer even con-

quering Rome. Such a bold idea must have struck a Roman statesman as the wild dream of a visionary or a madman, but it was fulfilled in the ultimate conversion of the empire after three centuries of persecution, and is still in the process of ever-growing fulfilment. In the exposition of his theme the apostle shows : (1) that all men are in need of salvation, being under the power of sin and exposed to the judgment of the righteous God ; the Gentiles not only (1 : 18-32), but also the Jews, who are still more guilty, having sinned against the written law and extraordinary privileges (2 : 1 to 3 : 20) ; (2) that salvation is accomplished by Jesus Christ, his atoning death and triumphant resurrection, freely offered to all on the sole condition of faith, and applied in the successive acts of justification, sanctification, and glorification (3 : 21 to end of chapter 8) ; (3) that salvation was offered first to the Jews, and, being rejected by them in unbelief, passed on to the Gentiles, but will return again to the Jews after the fulness of the Gentiles shall have come in (chaps. 9-11) ; (4) that we should show our gratitude for so great a salvation by surrendering ourselves to the service of God, which is true freedom (chaps. 12 to 16)." ("History of the Christian Church," I., pp. 764, 765.)

APPENDIX XIII.

PAUL'S SECOND ROMAN CAPTIVITY.

THERE are two general theories which claim to account for the closing years of Paul's life. According to the first, he was imprisoned for two years in Rome (Acts 28 : 30) and either died in prison or, being released, was martyred about 64 A. D., during the Neronian persecution. The advocates of this view are compelled either to deny the Pauline authorship of the Pastoral Epistles, or, admitting their genuineness, to assign the visits mentioned in them to the earlier part of the apostle's life. This view is held with varying details of chronology, etc., by Meyer, Pressensé, Sabatier, Wieseler, and the skeptical critics Baur, Zeller, and others. The other theory of Paul's later life, which has been followed in this book, assumes two Roman captivities. The two years mentioned in Acts 28 : 30 cover the first Roman captivity, during which time the "Epistles of the Captivity," Philemon, Colossians, Ephesians and Philippians, were written.

Paul was released about 63 A. D. and was at liberty for four or five years.

The visits mentioned in the Pastoral Epistles occurred during this interval, when 1 Timothy and Titus were written.

Finally the apostle was again seized and taken to Rome, imprisoned, and, after being tried, was put to death. The Second Epistle to Timothy was written during the second captivity, just before the apostle's death, about 67 or 68 A. D. This view has many strong supporters ; *viz.* Neander, Bleek, Ewald, Lange, Godet, Al-

ford, Wordsworth, Conybeare and Howson, Lewin, Farrar, Lightfoot, Gloag, Schaff and Hackett.

The chief arguments for the second captivity are taken from three sources: the early tradition of the church, the book of the Acts, and the Pastoral Epistles.

I. The Argument from Early Tradition. The classic passages are given by Conybeare and Howson, Vol. II., p. 437, 438.

The most important portion of the evidence "is supplied by Clement, the disciple of St. Paul, mentioned Phil. 4 : 3, who was afterwards a bishop of Rome. This author, writing from Rome to Corinth, expressly asserts that Paul had preached the gospel 'In the East and in the West;' that 'he had instructed the whole world (*i. e.*, the Roman Empire, which was commonly so called) in righteousness;' and that he 'had gone to the extremity of the West' before his martyrdom.

"Now, in a Roman author, *the extremity of the West* could mean nothing short of Spain, and the expression is often used by Roman writers to denote Spain. Here, then, we have the express testimony of St. Paul's own disciple that he fulfilled his original intention (mentioned Rom. 15 : 24-28) of visiting the Spanish peninsula; and consequently that he was liberated from his first imprisonment at Rome.

"The next piece of evidence which we possess on the subject is contained in the canon of the New Testament, compiled by an unknown Christian about the year A. D. 170, which is known as Muratori's Canon. In this document it is said, in the account of the Acts of the Apostles, that 'Luke relates to Theophilus events of which he was an eye-witness, as also, in a separate place (*viz.*, Luke 22 : 31-33), he evidently declares the martyrdom of Peter, but (omits) the journey of Paul from Rome to Spain.'

"In the next place, Eusebius tells us, 'after defending himself successfully it is currently reported that the apostle again went forth to proclaim the gospel, and afterwards came to Rome a second time, and was martyred under Nero.'

"Next we have the statement of Chrysostom, who mentions it as an undoubted historical fact, that 'St. Paul after his residence in Rome departed to Spain.'

'About the same time St. Jerome bears the same testimony, saying that 'Paul was dismissed by Nero, that he might preach Christ's gospel in the West.'"

Upon these testimonies of early tradition, Gloag justly remarks that the statement in the Muratorian Fragment "is corrupt in text and ambiguous in its meaning." Eusebius mentions Paul's release as a tradition and not as his opinion, and Chrysostom and Jerome lived too long after the events to be authorities upon them. The quotation from Clement of Rome is the only one which can carry any weight, and the expression "the extremity of the West" may mean Spain, or may be used as a general term for the transalpine countries. All these passages, however, are tradition and not history, and cannot be made to decide the question of Paul's travels after his release from prison in Rome. But, as Conybeare and Howson remark, the testimony of tradition has this to recommend it, it is "all one way."

II. The Argument from the Book of Acts. If there were no other facts to be considered than those in the last chapter of the Acts, the simplest conclusion would be that Paul was imprisoned in Rome for two years, and after that nothing of any importance worth recording happened in his life; that the apostle died in prison, or, being liberated, was put to death in a way which was so familiar to Theophilus, to whom the book of Acts is dedicated, as to require no further mention. No suggestion of a double captivity in Rome is even hinted at in Luke's history, and the question which arises is simply this: given the idea of a release from prison, and a subsequent imprisonment, which is suggested by the Pastoral Epistles and the testimony of early church tradition, is the silence of Luke on so important a subject to be taken as a final negative of the theory of a second Roman captivity? That Luke's omission is not to be taken as an argument against the theory is evident from his frequent habit of omission in other places. That he could omit, seemingly in an arbitrary way, has been abundantly shown, as for instance his omission of the Arabian visit, and of Peter's quarrel with Paul. Luke's silence, therefore, does not militate against any supplementary facts which are derived from the Pauline Epistles. To account for his omission in this instance, however, is not easy. Some explain it by assuming that Theophilus knew of Paul's later history, and needed no further information concerning the termination of his captivity, "whether it was by death or by his liberation." Alford and Schaff think that the narrative was carried up to the time that Luke wrote; that then no considerable change in the circumstances of the apostle took place; that consequently he had nothing further to relate. Meyer, Bleek, and Ewald conjecture that Luke intended to write a third treatise which would supplement the book of Acts, but was prevented, perhaps by death. The explanation of Gloag is simpler and more to the point. The whole book of Acts is evidently more than a biography of Peter or Paul. "What Luke intended," he says, "was to give an account of the *progress of Christianity*. He commences with its rise at Jerusalem and concludes with its reception at Rome; and having arrived at this point, he seems to have felt that his work was accomplished, and thus, with an emphatic and artistically formed sentence, he concludes his history."

It may fairly be held, therefore, that Luke's silence is a natural one, and that it cannot be urged against the theory of the second Roman captivity. That it affords a foundation for the supplementary facts of that theory cannot be questioned. Luke gives the first captivity, Paul and tradition give the release, later journeys, final imprisonment and death.

III. The Argument from the Pastoral Epistles. Meyer states the case in his admission: "If we regard the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*—which, moreover, stand or fall together—as genuine, we must take, as Eusebius in particular has done with reference to *2 Timothy*, the tradition of the apostle's liberation from Rome and of a second captivity there as an historical postulate, in order to gain the room which cannot otherwise be found for the historical references of those Epistles, and the latest possible time for their other contents."

The failure of all explanations which arrange these journeys earlier in Paul's life has been ably shown by Lewin (Vol. II., pp. 291, 292), whose arguments are as follows: 1. *The Epistle to Titus*. (a) The journey to *Crete*. "For this cause left I thee in Crete" (Tit. 1:5). No journey to Crete is mentioned by Luke, and there seems to be no place before the Roman captivity to put such a visit. Paul did touch at Crete on the way to Rome (Acts 27:7, p. 145), but it is doubtful if he landed, and even so the stay would have been too short for the evangelization of the island, and would have been greatly impeded by the presence of the Roman soldier who guarded him. (b) The intended wintering in *Nicopolis*. "Be diligent to come unto me to Nicopolis: for I have determined there to winter" (Tit. 3:12). It is impossible to account for this before the Roman imprisonment. Paul went to Greece in 52 A. D., and spent the winter of that year and of the following in Corinth, making the year and six months of Acts 18:11. In 53 A. D. he left Corinth for Jerusalem to attend the coming feast (Acts 18:21). We next find him at Antioch (Acts 18:23), where he tarried for a time. In 54 he went through Galatia and Phrygia to Ephesus, where he remained until 57 A. D. (Acts 20:1). From Ephesus he went through Macedonia to Corinth, where he stayed three months (Acts 20:2), and in the spring of 58 sailed to Philippi, reaching there at Passover (Acts 20:6). On his arrival at Jerusalem he was arrested and sent to Cæsarea, and after two years' imprisonment he went to Rome about 60 A. D. Thus we have the chronology of Paul's life very accurately accounted for in the Acts, and the proposed visit to Nicopolis, even as ingeniously suggested by Wieseler, does not fit into the history before Paul's arrival in Rome.

2. 1 *Timothy*. The visits to *Macedonia* and *Ephesus*. "As I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus when I went into Macedonia" (1 Tim. 1:3). When, in Paul's journeys previous to the Roman imprisonment, did he leave Timothy at Ephesus and proceed to Macedonia? Luke has two references to Paul's being in Ephesus. The first was when Paul was on his way from Greece to Jerusalem (*not* to Macedonia) (Acts 18:19). The second visit was on his third missionary journey, when he stayed three years (Acts 19:1-41). At the end of that time he sailed for Macedonia (Acts 20:1), but instead of leaving Timothy behind in Ephesus, it is distinctly stated that he sent him ahead to Macedonia (Acts 19:22). The case is thus the exact reverse of what those desire who advocate the theory which places these visits before the Roman captivity. Nor can it be held that Timothy may have returned from Macedonia and was left at Ephesus while Paul went there [but see Appendix IX.], because in 2 Corinthians, written while Paul was in Macedonia, Timothy was with him, and was mentioned in the opening salutation (2 Cor. 1:1). There is no place, therefore, to put this allusion to Timothy (1 Tim. 1:3) but during some intermediate period between the two Roman captivities. He was in Ephesus when Paul wrote 1 Timothy and was expecting the apostle there. "These things write I unto thee, hoping to come unto thee shortly" (1 Tim. 3:14).

3. 2 *Timothy*. This Epistle was written while Paul was a prisoner (2 Tim.

1:8, 16; 4:6, 16). This imprisonment evidently was at Rome, as 2 Tim. 1:17 shows. "When he [Onesiphorus] was in Rome he sought me out very diligently, and found me." The following passages prove that 2 Timothy could not have been written during the *first* Roman imprisonment. (a) A visit to *Miletus* previous to writing 2 Timothy. "Trophimus have I left at Miletum sick" (2 Tim. 4:20). According to Acts 20:4, 15, the only time, according to Luke, when Paul was in Miletus, Trophimus was with him; but he was not left behind, as he went to Jerusalem with the apostle, and was the cause of his arrest there (Acts 21:29), Wieseler, recognizing this difficulty, has had to suppose that Trophimus sailed with Paul to Rome to witness for his innocence, but left him at Myra (Acts 27:5) to proceed in the Adramyttian vessel to Miletus. Some critics, admitting that no stop was made at Miletus during Paul's voyage to Rome, arbitrarily change the text in 2 Tim 4:20, reading, instead of Miletus, *Melita* (as in Acts 28:1); but all the MSS. are against this. The Miletus of 2 Tim. 4:20 could not have been an obscure town in the north of Crete, at which Paul might have stopped during his voyage to Rome, for his course was along the *south* shore, not the north of the island. (b) A visit to *Corinth*. "Erastus abode at Corinth" (2 Tim. 4:20). No stop was made at Corinth on the way to Rome, and some later visit must be supposed after the release from prison, "when Paul took the usual winter route from the East to Rome across the isthmus of Corinth." (c) A visit to *Troas*. "The cloak that I left at Troas with Carpus, when thou comest, bring with thee, and the books, but especially the parchments" (2 Tim. 4:13). The nature of this request presupposes a recent visit. If 2 Timothy was written during the two years' imprisonment (as Wieseler thinks), which is fixed at 61–63 A. D., the visit to Troas must have been a little before the spring of 61 A. D. But the last time Paul is mentioned as being at Troas was in 58 A. D., on his way from Macedonia to Jerusalem (Acts 20:6). In Jerusalem he was seized, and imprisoned a few days later in Cæsarea for two years, and arrived in Rome 61 A. D. If 2 Timothy was written from Rome at the beginning of the captivity in 61, three years had elapsed since the visit to Troas; or if it was written toward the end of the captivity, in 63 A. D., five years had passed. "But how improbable is it that Paul should have waited for five, or even three years, for an article of dress such as a cloak, and for books and parchments which he must have required for constant use, more particularly the parchments, to which the apostle attached so much importance."

The above arguments, as urged by Lewin, are not all of equal weight, but those based on the journeys to Crete, Miletus and Troas are in themselves enough to make the theory of a release after the first captivity more than plausible. The most ingenious arrangement of the journeys referred to in the Pastorals is made by Wieseler, who places most of them, *viz.*, to Macedonia, Corinth, and Crete, during Paul's three years in Ephesus, as being episodes in his stay there similar to the second visit to Corinth, which is omitted by Luke; 1 Timothy was written during the course of this journey, Titus on the return to Ephesus, and 2 Timothy later, at the close of the two years' Roman imprisonment. Against this explanation Gloag

urges : 1. That this argument does not agree with the character of the Pastoral Epistles, which from their thought and diction were all written about the same time, and all speak of heresies which must have arisen at a later period in the church. 2. Wieseler's arrangement necessitates too long an absence from Ephesus, and thus destroys the truth of Paul's words to the Ephesian elders (Acts 20 : 31), that for three years he had not ceased to warn them night and day with tears. A short journey to Corinth is an episode which Luke might omit in the Acts, but the elaborate journey which Wieseler has devised could hardly have been passed over by him in silence.

In conclusion, it must be admitted that the theory of the second captivity is hardly more than a "working hypothesis." Tradition suggests it, the book of Acts does not preclude it, the allusions in the Epistles of the captivity are an interesting comment upon it, and the Pastoral Epistles are unintelligible without it; and it furnishes another illustration of the supplementary relation of the Pauline Epistles to the book of Acts, which has been so abundantly illustrated in the text of this book.

For a full discussion of this subject, see Schaff's "History of the Christian Church" (Vol. I., pp. 331-333); Conybeare and Howson (Vol. II., pp. 436-440); Meyer, Intro. Romans (pp. 10-14); Farrar, "The Life and Work of St. Paul" (Vol. II., Excursus VIII.); Hackett on Acts 28 : 31; and Huther: Meyer's Com. Intro., "The Pastoral Epistles" (sec. 3).

APPENDIX XIV.

THE ORIGIN OF THE CHURCH AT ROME (p. 151.)

WHEN Paul arrived in Rome there was a Christian church there. Three years before, he had written the Epistle to the Romans, 58 A. D., and already at that period the church had been in existence for a considerable time, as is seen from Rom. 1 : 8-13. "That it was already a church formally constituted," says Meyer, "may be gathered from the general analogy of other churches that had already been long in existence, from Rom. 12 : 5 ff., and less certainly from Rom. 16 : 5. . . . In the Acts of the Apostles the existence of the church is presupposed (Acts 28 : 15) as something well known; and the author [Luke] who follows the thread of his apostle's biography, had no occasion to narrate its origin or development. The *origin* of the Roman church cannot, therefore, be determined with certainty." Some trace it back as far as the time of Christ's life, when Jewish pilgrims returning to Rome from festivals in Jerusalem, brought back the gospel, having been converted through the ministry of Christ himself, or of the apostles in their missionary work in Palestine. Meyer suggests that many Palestinian Christians may have been driven to Rome during the persecution which followed the stoning of Stephen, a presumption which is favored by Acts 11 : 19, which indicates

that the dispersion was not limited to Samaria and Judæa, but some disciples went as far as Phœnicia and Cyprus; and it is highly probable that others may have gone as far as Rome, where they enjoyed freedom of worship till the Edict of Claudius in A. D. 52, when the Jews were banished from Rome. And further: "it is not impossible, though by no means demonstrable," says Schaff, "that the first tidings of the gospel were brought to Rome soon after the birthday of the church by witnesses of the pentecostal miracle in Jerusalem, among whom were 'sojourners from Rome, both Jews and proselytes' (Acts 2:10). In this case Peter, the preacher of the pentecostal sermon, may be said to have had an *indirect* agency in the founding of the church of Rome, which claims him as the rock on which it is built, although the tradition of his early visit (42) and twenty or twenty-five years residence there is a long exploded fable."

These explanations, however, while they suggest the probable rise of Christianity in Rome, do not account for "*a congregational life*" in the city, or what we call more strictly a church organization. Meyer holds, with reason, that the Roman church was a Pauline church ("inasmuch as not one of the now extant letters of the apostle is directed to a *non-Pauline* church"), and was founded not by Paul himself but by some of his converts, who, while refugees from Rome during the expulsion of the Jews from that city by Claudius, became Christians of the Pauline type and on their return organized a church. "We have historical confirmation of this in the instance of Aquila and Priscilla, who emigrated as Jews to Corinth, dwelt there with Paul for upwards of a year and a half, and at the date of our Epistle [Romans] had again settled in Rome, where they appear, as previously in Ephesus (1 Cor. 16:19), according to Rom. 16:3 as teachers, and the possessors of a house where the Roman church assembled. It is probable that others also, especially among the persons mentioned in Rom. 16, were in similar ways led by God; but it is certain that a chief place among the founders of the church belongs to Aquila and Priscilla; since among the many who are greeted by Paul in the 16th chapter he presents to them the *first* salutation, and that with a more laudatory designation than is accorded to any of the others." We may conclude, therefore, that, while Christianity may have come to Rome during Christ's lifetime, or after Pentecost, the congregational life of the Roman church did not begin till after Paul began his labors in Europe.

On the whole subject of Christianity in Rome, see Schaff's "History of the Christian Church" (Vol. I., pp. 360-375); Meyer on Romans (Intro., sec. 2, Amer. Ed.); Conybeare and Howson (II., pp., 368-371); Lightfoot on Philippians, note on "Cæsar's Household" (pp. 171-178).

APPENDIX XV.

“THE EPISTLES OF THE CAPTIVITY:” PHILEMON, COLOSSIANS, EPHESIANS, PHILIPPIANS.

THE following Introductions are taken, for the most part, from Schaff's “History of the Christian Church” (Vol. I., pp. 767-798).

“The traditional view dates the four Epistles from the Roman captivity, and there is no good reason to depart from it. Several modern critics assign one or more to Cæsarea, where he cannot be supposed to have been idle, and where he was nearer to his congregations in Asia Minor. But in Cæsarea Paul looked forward to Rome and to Spain; while in the Epistles of the captivity he expresses the hope of soon visiting Colossæ and Philippi. In Rome he had the best opportunity of correspondence with his distant friends, and enjoyed a degree of freedom which may have been denied him in Cæsarea. In Philippians he sends greetings from converts in ‘Cæsar’s household’ (4; 22), which naturally points to Rome; and the circumstances and surroundings of the other Epistles are very much alike. Ephesians, Colossians and Philemon were composed about the same time, and sent by the same messengers, Tychicus and Onesimus, to Asia Minor, probably toward the close of the Roman captivity, for in Philemon, ver. 22, he engaged a lodging in Colossæ in the prospect of a speedy release and visit to the East.

“Philippians we place last in the order of composition, or, at all events, in the second year of the Roman captivity; for some time must have elapsed after Paul’s arrival in Rome before the gospel could spread ‘throughout the whole prætorian guard’ (Phil. 1:13), and before the Philippians, at a distance of seven hundred miles from Rome (a full month’s journey in those days), could receive news from him, and send him contributions through Epaphroditus, besides other communications which seem to have preceded the Epistle.” Lightfoot, who is followed by Farrar, puts Philippians early in the first Roman captivity, and Colossians, Ephesians and Philemon late in the same period. Lightfoot, Philippians, note 11; Farrar, Vol. II., p. 417.

PHILEMON (p. 158).

This Epistle “is addressed to Philemon, a zealous Christian at Colossæ, a convert of Paul, and apparently a layman, who lent his house for the religious meetings of the brethren. . . . It was a letter of recommendation of Onesimus (*i. e.*, Profitable), a slave of Philemon, who had run away from his master on account of some offence (probably theft, a very common sin of slaves), fell in with Paul at Rome, of whom he may have heard in the weekly meetings at Colossæ, or

through Epaphras his fellow-townsmen, was converted by him to the Christian faith, and now desired to return as a penitent, in company with Tychicus, the bearer of the Epistle to the Colossians (Col. 4 : 9). . . . The Epistle is at the same time an invaluable contribution to our knowledge of Paul. It reveals him to us as a perfect Christian gentleman. It is a model of courtesy, delicacy and tenderness of feeling. Shut up in prison, the aged apostle had a heart full of love and sympathy for a poor runaway slave, made him a freeman in Christ Jesus, and recommended him as if he were his own self."

COLOSSIANS (p. 158).

"The cities of Colossæ, Laodicea and Hierapolis are mentioned together as seats of Christian churches in the closing chapter of Colossians, and the Epistle may be considered as being addressed to all, for the apostle directs that it be read also in the churches of the Laodiceans (4 : 13-16). They were situated within a few miles of each other in the valley of the Lycus, a tributary of the Mæander, in Phrygia, on the borders of Lydia, and belonged, under the Roman rule, to the proconsular province of Asia Minor. . . . Paul passed twice through Phrygia on his second and third missionary tours (Acts 16 : 6 ; 18 : 23), but probably not through the valley of the Lycus. Luke does not say that he established churches there, and Paul himself seems to include the Colossians and Laodiceans among those who had not seen his face in the flesh. He names Epaphras of Colossæ, his 'dear fellow-servant' and 'fellow-prisoner,' as the teacher and faithful minister of the Christians in that place. But during his long residence in Ephesus (A. D. 54-57) and from his imprisonment he exercised a general supervision over all the churches in Asia. . . . The special reason which prompted Paul to write to the Colossians, was the rise of a new heresy among them, which soon afterwards swelled into a mighty and dangerous movement in the ancient church, as rationalism has done in modern times. It differed from the Judaizing heresy which he opposed in Galatians and Corinthians as Essenism differed from Phariseism, or as legalism differs from mysticism. The Colossian heresy was an Essenic and ascetic type of Gnosticism ; it derived its ritualistic and practical elements from Judaism, its speculative elements from heathenism ; it retained circumcision, the observance of Sabbaths and new moons, and the distinction of meats and drinks ; but it mixed with it elements of Oriental mysticism and theosophy, the heathen notion of an evil principle, the worship of subordinate spirits, and an ascetic struggle for emancipation from the dominion of matter. It taught an antagonism between God and matter, and interposed between them a series of angelic mediators as objects of worship. It thus contained the essential features of Gnosticism, but in its incipient and rudimental form, or a Christian Essenism in its transition to Gnosticism. In its ascetic tendency it resembles that of the weak brethren in the Roman congregation (Rom. 14 : 5, 6, 21). Cerinthus, in the age of John, represents a more developed stage and forms the link between the Colossian heresy and the post-

apostolic Gnosticism." For a full analysis of Colossians see Lightfoot, pp. 126-128.

EPHESIANS (p. 158).

"Ephesians was intended," says Schaff, "not only for the church at Ephesus, the metropolis of Asia Minor, but for all the leading churches of that district. Hence the omission of the words 'in Ephesus' (1:1) in some of the oldest and best MSS. Hence, also, the absence of personal and local intelligence." "The Epistle," says Ellicott, "does not appear to have been called forth by any particular circumstances, nor to have involved any warning against the peculiarities of Jewish or Eastern Philosophy, but was designed to set forth the origin and development of the church of Christ, and to display to the Christian dweller under the shadow of the great temple of Diana the unity and beauty of that transcendently more glorious spiritual temple (ch. 2:20) of which Christ himself was the chief cornerstone, and the saints portions of the superstructure." "Ephesians," says Schaff, "is the most churchly book of the New Testament. But it presupposes Colossians, the most Christly of Paul's Epistles. Its churchliness is rooted and grounded in Christliness, and has no sense whatever if separated from this root. . . . It is the Epistle of the Heavens, a solemn liturgy, an ode to Christ and his spotless bride, the Song of songs in the New Testament. The aged apostle soared high above all earthly things to the invisible and eternal realities in heaven. From his gloomy confinement he ascended for a season to the mount of transfiguration. The prisoner of Christ, chained to a heathen soldier, was transformed into a conqueror, clad in the panoply of God and singing a pæan of victory."

PHILIPPIANS (p. 161.)

The Philippians frequently had shown their generosity toward Paul, and when they heard of his "arrival at Rome they again sent him timely assistance through Epaphroditus, who also offered his personal services to the prisoner of the Lord at the sacrifice of his health and almost his life. It was through this faithful fellow-worker that Paul sent his letter of thanks to the Philippians, hoping, after his release, to visit them in person once more. The Epistle reflects, in familiar ease, his relations to this beloved flock, which rested on the love of Christ. It is not systematic, not polemic nor apologetic, but personal and autobiographic, resembling in this respect the First Epistle to the Thessalonians, and to some extent also the Second Epistle to the Corinthians. It is the free outflow of tender love and gratitude, and full of joy and cheerfulness in the face of life and death. It is like his midnight hymn of praise in the dungeon of Philippi, 'Rejoice in the Lord alway; again I will say, Rejoice' (4:4). This is the keynote of the letter. It proves that a healthy Christian faith, far from depressing and saddening the heart, makes truly happy and contented, even in prison."

Meyer and others think, from allusions in Phil. 3:1, 18, that before Paul wrote the canonical Epistle to the Philippians he had written another Philippian letter

which has been lost. The question cannot be decided as satisfactorily as that of the lost Corinthian Epistle, but the assumption is not improbable. See Lightfoot on Philippians (pp. 138-142), note on the "Lost Epistles to the Philippians."

APPENDIX XVI.

THE PASTORAL EPISTLES: 1 TIMOTHY (p. 181), TITUS (p. 184) 2 TIMOTHY (p. 194).

"THE three Pastoral Epistles," says Schaff, "two to Timothy and one to Titus, form a group by themselves, and represent the last stage of the apostle's life and labors, with his parting counsels to his beloved disciples and fellow-workers. They show us the transition of the apostolic church from primitive simplicity to a more definite system of doctrine and form of government. This is just what we might expect from the probable time of their composition *after* the first Roman captivity of Paul, and *before* the composition of the Apocalypse. They are addressed, not to congregations, but to individuals, and hence more personal and confidential in their character. This fact helps us to understand many peculiarities. Timothy, the son of a heathen father and a Jewish mother, and Titus, a converted Greek, were among the dearest of Paul's pupils. They were, at the same time, his delegates and commissioners on special occasions, and appear under this official character in the Epistles which, for this reason, bear the name 'Pastoral.' The Epistles contain Paul's pastoral theology and his theory of church government. They give directions for founding, training, and governing churches, and for the proper treatment of individual members, old and young, widows and virgins, backsliders and heretics. They are rich in practical wisdom and full of encouragement, as every pastor knows. The Second Epistle to Timothy is more personal in its contents than the other two, and has the additional importance of concluding the autobiography of Paul. It is his last will and testament to all future ministers and soldiers of Christ. . . . The Pastoral Epistles seem to presuppose a more fully developed ecclesiastical organization than the other Pauline Epistles, and to belong to an age of transition from apostolic simplicity, or Christo-democracy—if we may use such a term—to the episcopal hierarchy of the second century. The church, in proportion as it lost, after the destruction of Jerusalem, its faith in the speedy advent of Christ, began to settle down in this world, and to make preparations for a permanent home by a fixed creed and a compact organization, which gave it unity and strength against heathen persecution and heretical corruption." The Pastoral Epistles have been more assailed than any others of Paul's writings, and yet, says Schaff, "we must insist that the prevailing evidence is in favor of the genuineness of these Epistles. They agree with Paul's doctrinal system; they are illuminated

with flashes of his genius; they bear the marks of his intense personality; they contain rare gems of inspired truth, and most wholesome admonition and advice, which makes them to-day far more valuable than any number of works on pastoral theology and church government. There are not a few passages in them which, for doctrine or practice, are equal to the best he ever wrote, and are deeply lodged in the experience and affection of Christendom." "History of the Christian Church," pp. 798-807.

In constructing the Harmony I have assumed that the Pastorals are Pauline, following Huther, Van Oosterzee, Lange, and the best English critics, Alford, Farrar, Conybeare and Howson, Findlay. On this hypothesis there seems to be little to favor an early date in Paul's life for their composition, and the theory of a double Roman captivity is almost certain, as even Meyer and Sabatier admit. See on the whole subject Alford, *Proleg.* to the "Pastoral Epistles"; Huther (*Meyer's Com.*) 1 Tim. Intro., pp. 43-59; Meyer, Intro. Romans (Am. Ed.), p. 14; Conybeare and Howson, Appendix I., "On the date of the Pastoral Epistles"; Farrar "Life and Work of St. Paul," Vol. II., Excursus IX; Sabatier, "The Apostle Paul" (pp. 263-272), and especially the Appendix by Findlay, in which the Pastorals are ably defended.

APPENDIX XVII.

THE SUFFERINGS OF PAUL.

A STUDY of the sufferings of Paul as given in his Epistles, "represents," says Stanley, "a life in the Western world hitherto without precedent. Of Buddha in the East we do not here speak. Self-devotion for some special national cause had been often seen before; the career of Socrates was a life-long service of humanity; but a continual self-devotion, involving hardships like those here described, and extending over so long a period, and in behalf of no local or family interest, but for the interest of mankind at large, was, down to this time, a thing unknown. The motive of the apostle may be explained in various ways, and the lives of missionaries and philanthropists may have equalled his in later times; but the facts here [2 Cor.] recorded remain the same. Paul did all this, and Paul was the first who did it. It is remarkable that, whilst there is nothing in this account which contradicts, yet the greater part of it goes far beyond the narrative of the Acts. . . . It shows that the biography of the apostle, unlike most biographies of heroes and saints (as that of Francis Xavier), instead of overrating, underrates the difficulties and sufferings which we learn from the apostle himself; the accuracy of the apostle's own account being further guaranteed by the extreme and apparently unfeigned reluctance with which it is brought forward. On the other hand, it impresses us with a sense of the very imperfect and fragmentary character of the history of the

Acts, as a regular narrative, during that period to which the apostle's words [in 2 Corinthians] relate, namely, from Acts 9 : 1 to 20 : 2. This consideration gives a double value to this detailed aspect of the apostle's life, which, but for the goading provocations of his opponents, would (humanly speaking) have been altogether lost to us" (2 Cor., pp. 545-546).

Of the particular sufferings mentioned in 2 Cor. 11 : 24-25, Luke gives an account of only one of the three Roman scourgings, *viz.*, at Philippi (Acts 16 : 22 p. 69), and records the stoning of Paul at Lystra (Acts 14 : 19, p. 45). Compare note 14, p. 45. Thus he omits the five Jewish scourgings, two of the three Roman scourgings with rods, the three shipwrecks, and the "night and a day in the deep." And we are the more impressed with the paucity of the narrative of Paul's sufferings in the Acts when we remember that to the list given below from Paul's Epistles (1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Galatians and Romans), which were written before he left Corinth (Acts 20 : 3), must be added "his escape from Corinth (Acts 20 : 3), the sorrow of his farewell visits (20 : 5-21 : 14), his arrest at Jerusalem (21 : 32), his imprisonment at Cæsarea (24 : 27), his shipwreck (27), and his imprisonment at Rome (28 : 30)." Stanley.

The two classic passages on Paul's "thorn in the flesh" are 2 Cor. 12 : 5-10; Gal. 4 : 12-15. The best critics now interpret St. Paul's infirmity as some form of physical disease, either ophthalmia or epilepsy. See Meyer on 2 Cor. 12 : 7; Lightfoot on Galatians, note X.; Farrar, Vol. I., Excursus X.; Matheson's "Spiritual Development of St. Paul," pp. 50-64.

The following list of Paul's account of his sufferings is taken from the Corinthian Epistles, Galatians and Romans, and with few exceptions has not appeared in the text. For other selections from Paul's Epistles see the Harmony : p. 45 (Lystra) ; p. 46 (Antioch, Iconium, Lystra) ; p. 69 (Philippi) ; p. 100 (Ephesus) ; p. 103 (Macedonia) ; pp. 155, 164 (Rome, First Cap.) ; p. 173 (between the Roman Captivities) ; pp. 189-194 (Rome, Second Captivity).

1 COR. 4 : 9-13; 15 : 19, 30-32.

4 : 9. For I think that God hath set forth us the apostles last, as it were appointed to death: for we are made a spectacle unto the world, and to angels, and to men. 10. We *are* fools for Christ's sake, but ye *are* wise in Christ; we *are* weak, but ye *are* strong; ye *are* honorable, but we *are* despised. 11. Even unto this present hour we both hunger and thirst, and are naked, and are buffeted, and have no certain dwelling-place; 12. And labor, working with our own hands: being reviled, we bless; being persecuted, we suffer it: 13. Being defamed, we entreat: we are made as the filth of the world, *and are* the offscouring of all things unto this day.

15 : 19. If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable. . . . 30. And why stand we in jeopardy every hour? 31. I protest by your rejoicing which I have in Christ Jesus our Lord, I die daily. 32. If after the manner of men I have fought with beasts at Ephesus, what advantageth it me if the dead rise not? let us eat and drink; for to-morrow we die.

2 COR. 4 : 7-18; 6 : 3-10; 11 : 23-31; 12 : 5-10.

4 : 7. But we have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of us. 8. *We are* troubled on every side, yet not distressed;

2 COR. 4.

we are perplexed, but not in despair; 9. Persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed; 10. Always bearing about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life also of Jesus might be made manifest in our body. 11. For we which live are alway delivered unto death for Jesus' sake, that the life also of Jesus might be made manifest in our mortal flesh. 12. So then death worketh in us, but life in you. 13. We having the same spirit of faith, according as it is written, I believed, and therefore have I spoken; we also believe, and therefore speak; 14. Knowing that he which raised up the Lord Jesus shall raise up us also by Jesus, and shall present *us* with you. 15. For all things *are* for your sakes, that the abundant grace might through the thanksgiving of many redound to the glory of God. 16. For which cause we faint not; but though our outward man perish, yet the inward *man* is renewed day by day. 17. For our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding *and* eternal weight of glory; 18. While we look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen: for the things which are seen *are* temporal; but the things which are not seen *are* eternal.

6:3. Giving no offence in anything, that the ministry be not blamed: 4. But in all *things* approving ourselves as the ministers of God, in much patience, in afflictions, in necessities, in distresses, 5. In stripes, in imprisonments, in tumults, in labors, in watchings, in fastings; 6. By pureness, by knowledge, by long-suffering, by kindness, by the Holy Ghost, by love unfeigned. 7. By the word of truth, by the power of God, by the armor of righteousness on the right hand and on the left, 8. By honor and dishonor, by evil report and good report; as deceivers, and *yet* true; 9. As unknown, and *yet* well known; as dying, and, behold, we live; as chastened, and not killed; 10. As sorrowful, yet alway rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, and *yet* possessing all things.

II:23. Are they ministers of Christ? (I speak as a fool,) I *am* more; in labors more abundant, in stripes above measure, in prisons more frequent, in deaths oft. 24. Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one. 25. Thrice was I beaten with rods, once was I stoned, thrice I suffered shipwreck, a night and a day I have been in the deep; 26. *In* journeyings often, *in* perils of waters, *in* perils of robbers, *in* perils by mine own countrymen, *in* perils by the heathen, *in* perils in the city, *in* perils in the wilderness, *in* perils in the sea, *in* perils among false brethren; 27. In weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness. 28. Beside those things that are without, that which cometh upon me daily, the care of all the churches. 29. Who is weak, and I am not weak? who is offended, and I burn not? 30. If I must needs glory, I will glory of the things which concern mine infirmities. 31. The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is blessed for evermore, knoweth that I lie not.

II:5. Of such a one will I glory: yet of myself I will not glory, but in mine infirmities. 6. For though I would desire to glory, I shall not be a fool; for I will say the truth: but *now* I forbear, lest any man should think of me above that which he seeth me *to be*, or *that* he heareth of me. 7. And lest I should be exalted above measure through the abundance of the revelations, there was given to me a thorn in the flesh, the messenger of Satan to buffet me, lest I should be exalted above measure. 8. For this thing I besought the Lord thrice, that it might depart from me. 9. And he said unto me, My grace is sufficient for thee: for my strength is made perfect in weakness. Most gladly therefore will I rather glory in my infirmities, that the power of Christ may rest upon me. 10. Therefore I take pleasure in infirmities, in reproaches, in necessities, in persecutions, in distresses for Christ's sake: for when I am weak, then am I strong.

GAL. 4:12-15; 5:11; 6:14, 17.

4:12. Brethren, I beseech you, be as I *am*; for I *am* as ye *are*: ye have not injured me at all. 13. Ye know how through infirmity of the flesh I preached the gospel unto you at the first. 14. And my temptation which was in my flesh ye despised not, nor rejected; but received me as an angel of God, *even* as Christ Jesus. 15. Where is then the blessedness ye spake of? for I bear you record, that, if *it had been* possible, ye would have plucked out your own eyes, and have given them to me. 5:11. And I, brethren, if I yet preach circumcision, why do I yet suffer persecution? then is the offence of the cross ceased. 6:14. But God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world. . . . 17. From henceforth let no man trouble me: for I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus. [R. V. 17 From henceforth let no man trouble me: for I bear branded on my body the marks of Jesus.]

ROM. 5:1-5; 8:16-18, 22, 23, 35-39; 9:1-3.

5:1. Therefore being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ: 2. By whom also we have access by faith into this grace wherein we stand, and rejoice in hope of the glory of God. 3. And not only *so*, but we glory in tribulations also; knowing that tribulation worketh patience; 4. And patience, experience; and experience, hope: 5. And hope maketh not ashamed; because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us. 8:16. The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God: 17. And if children, then heirs; heirs of God. and joint heirs with Christ; if so be that we suffer with *him*, that we may be also glorified together. 18. For I reckon that the sufferings of this present time *are* not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us. . . . 22. For we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now. 23. And not only *they*, but ourselves also, which have the firstfruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption, *to wit*, the redemption of our body. . . . 35. Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? *shall* tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? 36. As it is written, For thy sake we are killed all the day long; we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter. 37. Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors through him that loved us. 38. For I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, 39. Nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. 9:1. I say the truth in Christ, I lie not, my conscience also bearing me witness in the Holy Ghost, 2. That I have great heaviness and continual sorrow in my heart. 3. For I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh.

"He who can part from country and from kin,
 And scorn delights, and tread the thorny way,
 A heavenly crown through toil and pain to win—
 He who reviled can tender love repay,
 And, buffeted, for bitter foes can pray—
 He who, upspringing at his Captain's call,
 Fights the good fight, and when at last the day
 Of fiery trial comes can nobly fall—
 Such were a saint, or more; and such the holy Paul!"

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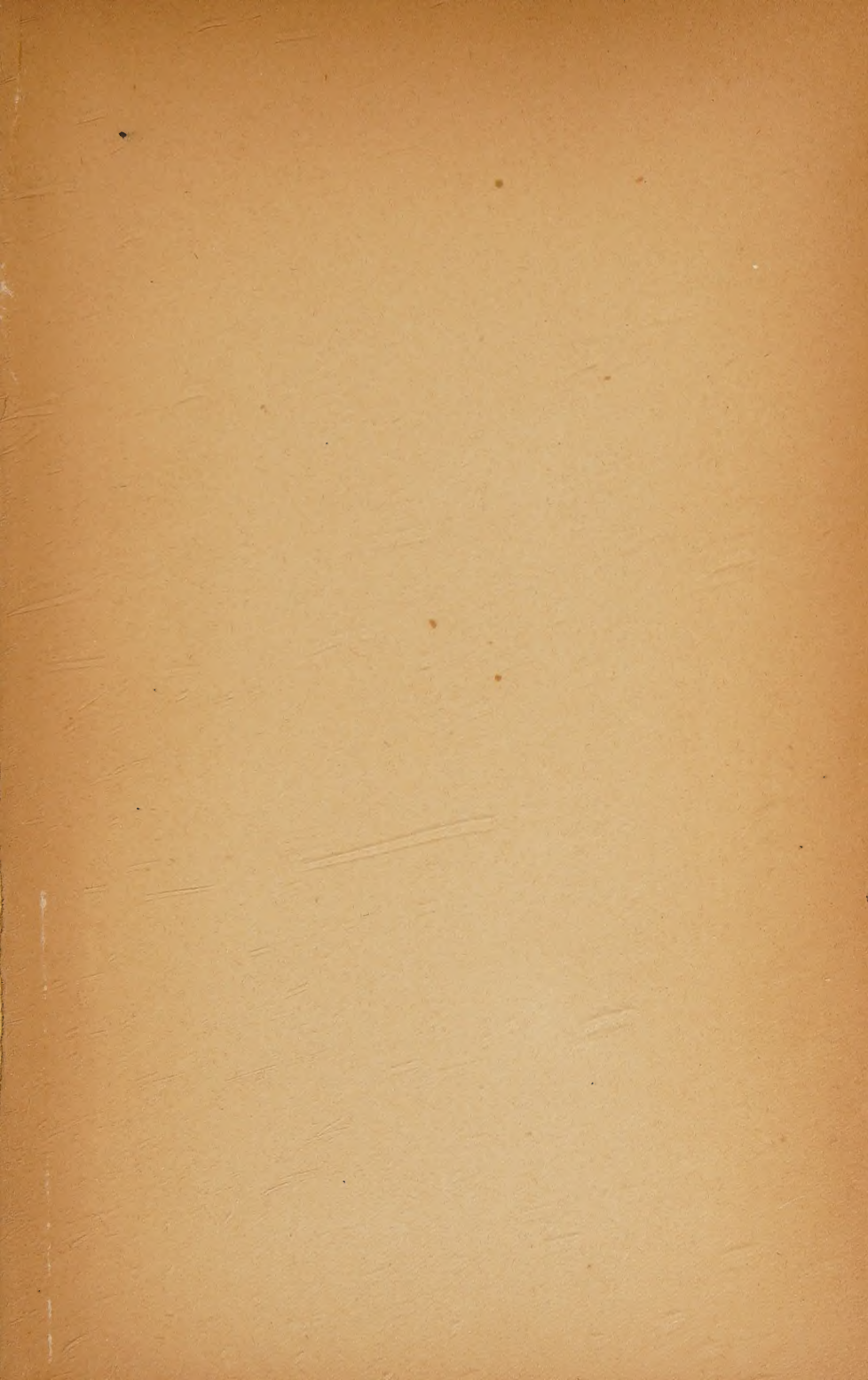
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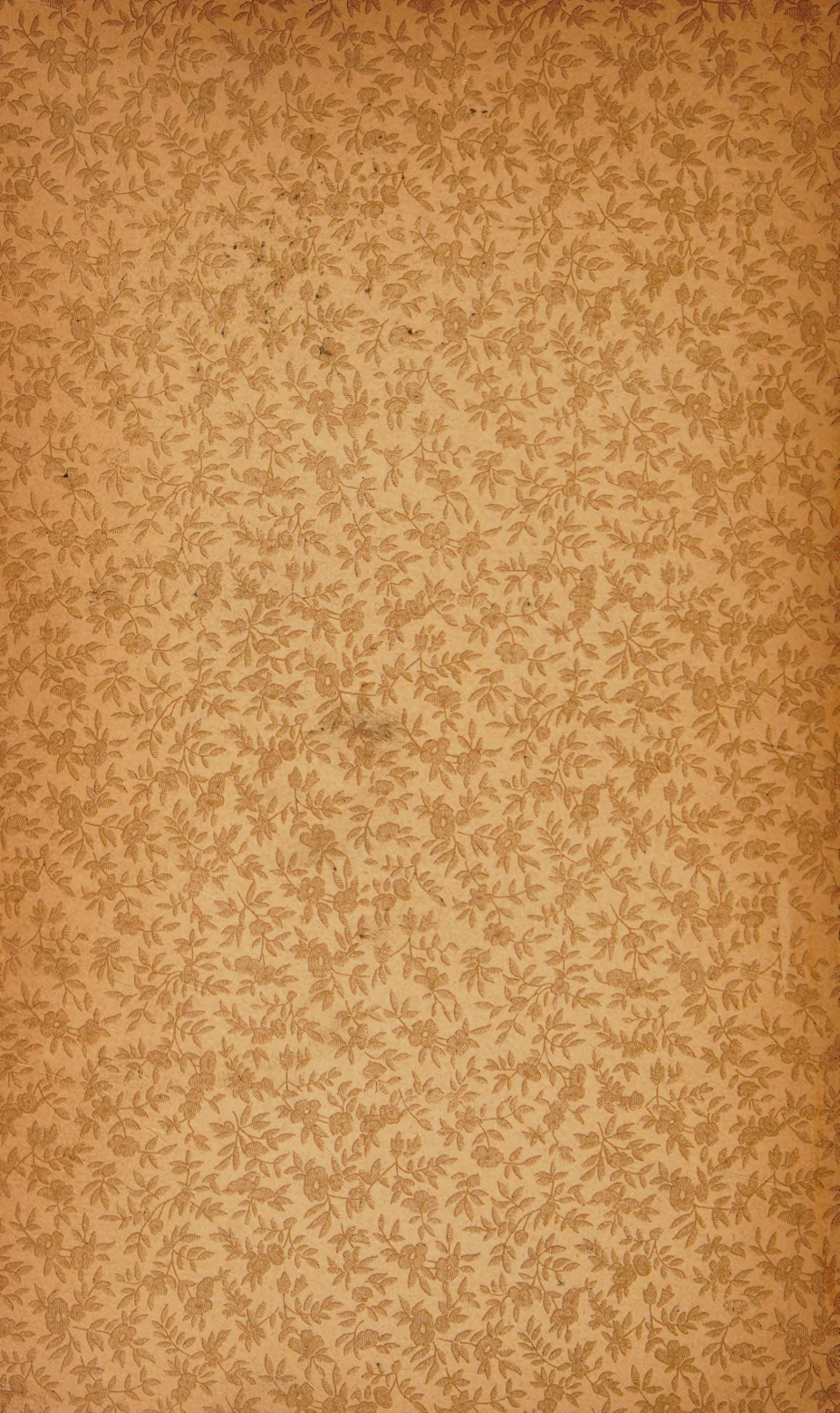
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